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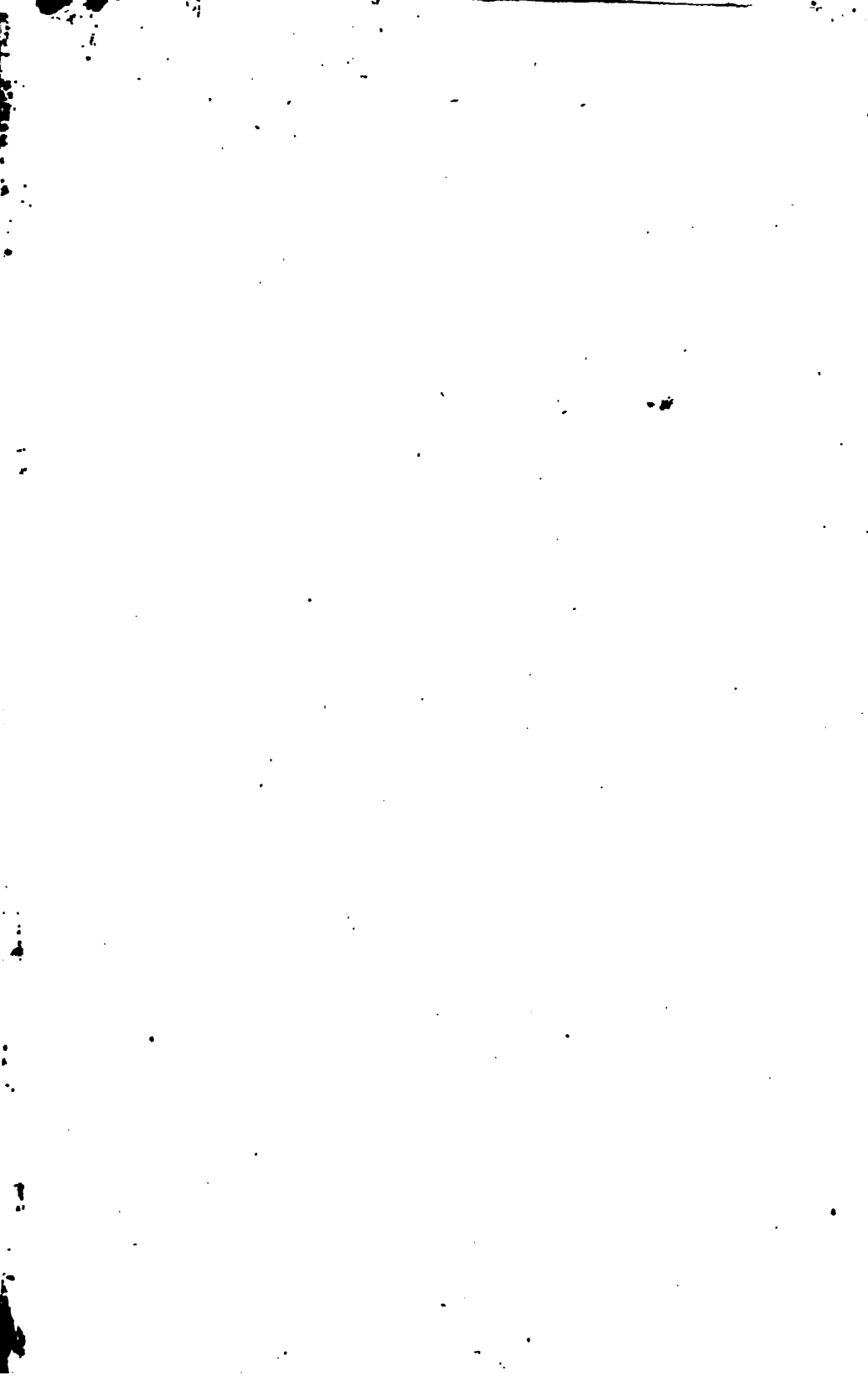
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Edward Earl of CLARENDON Lord High CHANCELLOR of England,
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford An. Dñi 1667.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigus of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κῆρυξ ἐς ἀνι. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat; ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME III. PART 2.

O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, *An. Dom.* MDCCVII.



T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K XIII.

Exod. ix. 16, 17.

And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the Earth. As yet exaltest thou thy self against my People ?

THE Marquis of *Argyle*, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventur'd into *Scotland* upon the conditions he had sent, was surpris'd with the account the Commissioners had given him, " that his Majesty resolv'd to Embark the " next day; that he would leave all his Chaplains, and his " other Servants behind him, and only deferr'd to take the " Covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to " satisfy the Kirk if they press'd it. Thereupon he immediately dispatched away another Vessel with new Propositions, Argyle sends new Propositions; which misst the King. which the Commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the King's coming into that Kingdom, without He likewise consented to those. But that Vessel met not with the King's Fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept the King, had held its course more Northward, where there are good Harbours; and so had put into a Harbour near *Sterlin*, that is, within a days Journey of it, but where there was no Town nearer than that for his Majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary Passengers.

FROM thence notice was sent to the Council of the King's The King arrival: the first welcome he receiv'd, was a new demand arrivals in " that he would sign the Covenant himself, before he set his Scotland.

*The King
takes the
Covenant.*

*Hamilton
and Lau-
therdale
depart from
the King.*

*Argyle
receives the
King.*

*Most of the
King's Eng-
lish Ser-
vants re-
moved from
him.*

*Daniel O
Neile ap-
prehended by
order of the
Council of
Scotland:
and banish-
ed.*

“foot on shore; which all about him press'd him to do: and he now found, that he had made hast thither upon very unskilful imaginations, and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolv'd nothing less than to serve him. The Lords of the other Party, who had prevail'd with him to submit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceiv'd both Him and Themselves, and that no body had any authority but those Men who were their mortal Enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprison'd, or to be removed from the King; but, with his Majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could, what he should do for Himself, and what he should do for Them, they put themselves on Shore before the King disembark'd; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the King. And shortly after Duke *Hamilton* retired to the Island of *Arran*, which belonged to himself; where he had a little House well enough accommodated, the Island being for the most part inhabited with wild Beasts: *Lautberdale* concealed himself amongst his Friends, taking care both to be well inform'd of all that should pass about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

THE King was receiv'd by the Marquis of *Argyle* with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the *English* Servants he had of any Quality, were remov'd from his Person, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were receiv'd into the Houses of some Persons of Honour, who liv'd at a distance from the Court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the King to kiss his hand, and then retired to their Houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his Servants were not suffer'd to remain in the Kingdom, but were forced presently to reembark themselves for *Holland*; amongst which was *Daniel O Neile*, who hath been often mention'd before, and who came from the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Holland*, just when his Majesty was ready to Embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his Majesty (as he was a Person very generally known) but he was apprehended by order from the Council, for being an *Irish* man, and having been in Armes on the late King's behalf in the late War; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the Kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the Kingdom.

THEY

THEY sent away likewise Mr *Robert Long*, who was his Principal, if not only, Secretary of State, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and St *Edward Walker*, who was Clerk of the Council, and had been Secretary at War during the late War, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other Servants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in Religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long Prayers, and made him observe the *Sundays* with more rigour than the *Jews* accustom'd to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the Actions of his Father, the Idolatry of his Mother, and his own Malignity.

HE was not present in their Councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the Government: Yet they made great shew of outward Reverence to him, and even the Chaplains, when they used Rudeness and Barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better Courtier than *Argyle*; who used all possible address to make himself gracious to the King, entertain'd him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the King did not only very well like his Conversation, but often believ'd that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his Majesty made any attempt to get some of his Servants about him, or to reconcile the two Factions, that the Kingdom might be united, he gather'd up his countenance, and retir'd from him, without ever yielding to any one Proposition that was made to him by his Majesty. In a word, the King's Table was well serv'd; there he sat in Majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good Horses to ride abroad to take the Air, and was then well attended; and, in all publick Appearances, seem'd to want nothing that was due to a great King. In all other respects, with reference to Power to oblige or gratify any Man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assign'd to him, he had nothing of a Prince, but might very well be look'd upon as a Prisoner.

BUT that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all Nations and States; the other of disrespect or restraint, was not communicated;

and if it could not be entirely conceal'd, it was consider'd only as a Faction between particular great Men, who contended to get the Power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledg'd. The King's Condition seem'd wonderfully advanced, and his being possess'd of a Kingdom without a Rival, in which there was no appearance of an Enemy, look'd like an earnest for the Recovery of the other Two, and, for the present, as a great addition of Power to him in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, by a conjunction, and absolute Submission of all the *Scots* in *Ulster* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant there.

ALL Men who had dissuaded his Majesty's repair into *Scotland*, were look'd upon as very weak Politicians, or as Men who opposed the Publick good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffer'd to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design, valu'd themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that Service. The States of *Holland* thought they had merited much in suffering their Ships to Transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remember'd; and they gave all Countenance to the *Scotish* Merchants and Factors who liv'd in their Dominions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Armes and Ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the King's Service in that Kingdom. *France* it self look'd very chearfully upon the change; Congratulated the Queen with much Ceremony, and many Professions; and took pains to have it thought and believ'd, that they had had a share in the Counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in *Scotland*, by their influence upon *Argyle* and his Party. And it hath been mention'd before, how great a Reputation this little dawning of Power, how clouded soever, gave to the Embassadors in *Spain*, and had rais'd them, from such a degree of disrespect, as was near to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that Court that was due to the Station in which they were.

THERE fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the Affection of that Court, and indeed of the Nation. As *Don Alonso de Cardinas* had us'd all the Credit he had, to dispose that Court to a good correspondence with the Parliament, so he had employ'd as much care to encline those in *England* to have a confidence in the Affection of his Master, and assur'd them, "that if they would send an Embassador, or other Minister into *Spain*, he should find a good reception. The Parliament, in the infancy of their Common-wealth, had more inclination to make a Friendship with *Spain* than with *France*, having at that time

time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from *Don Alonso*, they resolv'd to send an Envoy to *Madrid*; and made choice of one *Ascham*, a Scholar, who had been concern'd in drawing up the King's Trial, and had written a Book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Sovereigns, comes to be determin'd after a Conquest; and that, from that term, it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: A speculation they thought fit to cherish.

THIS Man, unacquainted with business, and unskill'd in language, attended by three others, the one a Renegado *Franciscan* Fryar, who had been bred in *Spain*, and was well versed in the Language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a Secretary; and the third, an inferior Fellow for any Service, arriv'd all in *Spain* in an *English* Merchant's Ship: Of which *Don Alonso* gave such timely notice, that he was receiv'd and entertain'd by the chief Magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The Town was quickly full of the rumour, that an Embassadour was Landed from *England*, and would be receiv'd there; which no body seem'd to be well pleas'd with. And the Embassadours expos-
tulated with *Don Lewis de Haro* with some warmth, "that his Catholick Majesty should be the first Christian Prince
"that would receive an Embassadour from the odious, and
"execrable Murderers of a Christian King, his Brother and
"Ally; which no other Prince had yet done, out of the de-
"testation of that horrible Parricide: And therefore they de-
"sired him, "that *Spain* would not give so infamous an exam-
"ple to the other parts of the World. *Don Lewis* assured
them, "that there was no such thing as an Embassadour com-
"ing from *England*, nor had the King any purpose to re-
"ceive any: That it was true, they were inform'd that there
"was an *English* Gentleman Landed at *Cales*, and come to Se-
"vil; who said, he was sent from the Parliament with Let-
"ters for the King; which was testified by a Letter from
"*Don Alonso de Cardenas* to the Duke of *Medina Celi*; who
"thereupon had given order for his Entertainment at *Sevil*,
"till the King should give further order: That it was not
"possible for the King to refuse to receive the Letter, or to
"see the Man who brought it; who pretended no kind of
"Character: That having an Embassadour residing in *Eng-
"land* to preserve the Trade and Commerce between the two
"Nations, they did believe, that this Messenger might be
"sent with some Propositions from the *English* Merchants for
"the advancement of that Trade, and if they should refuse
"to hear what he said, it might give a just offence, and de-
stroy

“stroy all the Commerce ; which would be a great damage to both Nations.

THAT this new Agent might come securely to *Madrid*, an old Officer of the Army was sent from *Sevil* to accompany him thither ; who came with him in the Coach, and gave notice every night to *Don Lewis* of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the *English* Merchants, many Officers and Soldiers in *Madrid*, who had serv'd in the *Spanish* Armies, both in *Catalonia* and in *Portugal* ; and these Men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an Agent from the new Republick of *England* ; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the Town, which was generally discourf'd of, rode out of the Town to meet him ; but, missing him, they return'd again, and found that he had enter'd into it by another way ; and having taken a view of his Lodging, they met again the next Morning ; and finding, accidentally, one of the Embassadours Servants in the streets, they perswaded him to go with them, and so went to the House where *Ascham* Lodged ; and, without asking any Questions, walk'd directly up the stairs into his Chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the House, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up, drew their Swords ; and besides their intentions, in disorder, kill'd the Fryar as well as the Agent ; and so return'd to their Companions with their Swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had perform'd a very gallant and a justifiable Service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have disperf'd themselves, and been secure, the People were so little concern'd to enquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no compos'd thoughts about them, finding the door of a little Chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary : Only he who was in Service of the Embassadours, separated himself from the rest, and went into the House of the *Venetian* Embassadour. By this time the People of the House where the Man lay, had gone up into the Chamber ; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the Bed ; and the Magistrates and People went about the Church, and talking with, and examining the Persons who were there : And the Rumour was presently divulg'd about the Town, “that one of the *English* Embassadours was “kill'd.

Ascham
kill'd by some
Officers at his
Lodgings in
Madrid.

All but one
fly to a Cha-
pel for san-
ctuary : he,
to the *Vene-*
tian Embas-
sadours.

THEY were at that time entring into their Coach to take the Air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were inform'd of what had pass'd, and that *Harry Progers*, who was their Servant, had been in the

the Action, and was retir'd to the House of the *Venetian* Embassadour, they were in trouble and perplexity; dismiss'd their Coach, and return'd to their Lodging. Though they abhorrd the Action that was committed, they foresaw, the presence of one of their own Servants in it, and even some passionate words they had us'd, in their expostulation with *Don Lewis*, against the reception of such a Messenger, as if "the King" their Master had too many Subjects in that place, for such a "fellow to appear there with any security, would make it be believ'd by many, that the attempt had not been made without their consent or privy. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a Letter to *Don Lewis de Haro*, to express the sense they had of this unfortunate rash Action; "of which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any notice or suspicion, they would have prevented it. *Don Lewis* return'd them a very dry Answer; "That he could not imagine that they could have a hand in so foul an Assassination in the Court (for all *Madrid* is call'd, and look'd upon as the Court) "of a Person under the immediate Protection of the King: However, that it was an Action so unheard of, and so dishonourable to the King, that his Majesty was resolv'd to have it examin'd to the bottom, and that exemplary Justice should be done upon the Offenders: That his own Embassadour in *England* might be in great danger upon this Murder; and that they would send an Express presently thither to satisfy the Parliament how much his Catholick Majesty detested, and was offended with it, and resolv'd to do Justice upon it; and if his Embassadour underwent any inconvenience There, they were not to wonder, if his Majesty were severe Here; and so left it to them to imagine that their own Persons might not be safe.

The Embassadour writes to Don Lewis about this Action.

His Answer.

BUT they knew the temper of the Court too well, to have the least apprehension of that: yet they were a little surpris'd, when they first saw the Multitude of People gather'd together about their House, upon the first News of the Action; insomuch that the street before their House, which was the broadest in *Madrid* (the *Calle de Alcalá*) was so throng'd, that Men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the *English* Embassadours had suffer'd Violence, had brought that Multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no sooner shew'd themselves in a Balcony to the People, but they saluted them with great kindness, pray'd for the King their Master, curs'd and reviled the Murderers of his Father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the Chapel, were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal Officer after Examination, and sent to the Prison.

Those that fled to the Chapel are taken thence, and imprisoned; the other escape into France.

son : the other was not inquir'd after ; but, having conceal'd himself for ten or twelve days, he went out of the Town in the night ; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into *France*.

OF all the Courts in Christendom *Madrid* is that where Embassadours, and Publick Ministers, receive the greatest Respect, which, besides the Honour and Punctuality of that People, bred up in the observation of distances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the Embassadours have of living with mutual respect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each others Honour and Privileges : so that, if any Embassadour, in Himself or his Servants, receive any Affront or Disrespect, all the other Embassadours repair to him ; and offer their Service, and Interposition, by which means they are not only preserv'd from any Invasion by any private and particular Insolence, but even from some Acts of Power, which the Court it self hath some time thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a Minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the Character ; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagin'd, with what a general compassion all the Embassadours look'd upon these unhappy Gentlemen, who had involv'd themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the *English* Embassadours to Advise, and Consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his Assistance. The Action could in no degree be justified ; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the Privilege of Sanctuary, "They had betaken themselves to the Church ; and the taking them from thence, " by what Authority soever, was a violation of the Rights and " Immunities of the Church, which, by the Law of the King-
" dom, was ever defended with all tenderness. So that be-
" fore the guilt of the Blood could be examin'd, the Pri-
" soners desir'd that their Privilege might be examin'd, and
" that they might have Council assign'd them to that purpose ;
which was granted ; and several Arguments were made upon the matter of Law before the Judges ; who were favourable enough to the Prisoners. The King's Council urged, " that
" in case of Assassination, the Privilege of Sanctuary was ne-
" ver allow'd (which is true) and cited many Presidents of late years in *Madrid* it self, where, for less Crimes than of Blood, Men had been taken out of the Sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The *English* Embassadours thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new Republick should receive so much Countenance from that Court, as would have resulted from putting those Gentlemen
to

to death as if they had kill'd a Publick Minister. The Pope's Nuntio, *Julio Rospigliosi*, who was afterwards *Clement the Ninth*, could not, according to the Style of the Roman Court, either give or receive Visits from the *English* Embassadours: but they perform'd Civilities to each other by Messages, and pass'd mutual Salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad. And the *Venetian* Embassadour brought them frequent assurances, "that the Nuntio had spoken very effectually to the King, and to *Don Lewis*, for the redelivery of the Prisoners to the Church, and press'd it so hard upon the Conscience of the King, that he had some promise that they should not suffer.

In the mean time, thundering Letters came from the Parliament, with great Menaces what they would do, if exemplary Justice was not inflict'd upon those who had Murther'd their Envoy; and *Don Alonso* urged it, as if "he thought himself in danger till full satisfaction should be given in that particular; all which for the present made deep impression, so that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring that he would not infringe the Privilege of the Church, and so undergo the Censure of the Pope, for any advantage he could receive with reference to any of his Dominions. In the end (that the discourse of this Affair may not be resum'd again hereafter) after a long Imprisonment (for during the Embassadours stay they would not bring them to any Trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their solicitation) the Prisoners were proceeded against a soon, or shortly after the Embassadours had left *Madrid*, and were all condemn'd to dye; and a soon as the Sentence was declar'd, all the Prisoners were again deliver'd into the same Church; where they remain'd many days, having Provisions of Victuals sent to them by many Persons of Quality, until they had all opportunity to make their Escape, which was very successfully done by all but one; who, being the only Protestant amongst them, was more maliciously looked after and watched, and was follow'd, and apprehended after he had made three days Journey from *Madrid*, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the satisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that Affair; and is an instance, how far that People was from any Affection to those of *England* in their Hearts, how much sorer they comply'd with them out of the necessity of their Fortune.

WHEN some weeks were pass'd after that unlucky accident, the Embassadours went to confer with *Don Lewis* upon some other occurrence, with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the Prisoners. *Don Lewis* spoke of it in a manner they did not expect, one expression was "*To tango invidia de*
" *estos*

“estes Cavaleros &c. I envy those Gentlemen for having
 “done so noble an Action, how penal soever it may prove
 “to them, to revenge the Blood of their King. Whereas, he
 said, “the King his Master wanted such resolute Subjects;
 “otherwise he would never have lost a Kingdom, as he had
 “done *Portugal*, for want of one brave Man; who, by taking
 “away the Life of the Usurper, might at any time, during the
 “first two years, have put an end to that Rebellion.

To return now to the Affairs of *Scotland*: whether when
 the Marquis of *Argyle* first knew that the King would venture
 himself into *Scotland*, he suspected his own strength, and so
 sent for his Friend *Cromwell* to assist him; or whether it seem'd
 more reasonable to the Parliament, when it was assured of the
 King's being there, to Visit him in that Kingdom, than to
 expect a Visit from him, is not enough clear at this time.
 But as soon as the King was in *Scotland*, *Cromwell*, being sent
 for by the Parliament, left what remain'd to be done in *Ire-*
land to *Ireton* (who had Married his Daughter) and made
 him Deputy; and Transported himself into *England*; where
 the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the
 Presbyterian Party, resolv'd to send an Army into *Scotland*.
 Many oppos'd it, as they thought it an unjust and unpro-
 fitable War, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and
 others, because it would keep up, and increase the Power and
 Authority of the Army in *England*; which was already found
 to be very grievous.

Cromwell,
sents for by
the Parlia-
ment out of
Ireland,
leave: Ire-
ton his De-
puty.
The Parlia-
ment resolv'd
to send an
Army into
Scotland.

Fairfax
gives up his
Commission.

Cromwell
makes Ge-
neral.

THIS Resolution produced another great Alteration: *Fair-*
fax, who had hitherto worn the Name of General, declar'd
 positively that he would not Command the Army against
Scotland. The Presbyterians said, “it was because he thought
 “the War unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same
 “Religion; but his Friends would have it believ'd, that he
 would not Fight against the King. Hereupon *Cromwell* was
 chosen General; which made no Alteration in the Army;
 which he had modell'd to his own mind before, and Com-
 manded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more
 absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced, and sup-
 pressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been sup-
 ported by *Fairfax*. The Independents had all Credit about
 him; and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of
 People who would shew their Gifts there; and a general Di-
 straction and Confusion in Religion cover'd the whole King-
 dom; which rais'd as general a discontent in the minds of
 the People, who, finding no ease from the Burthens they had
 so long sustain'd, but an increase of the Taxes and Impositions
 every day, grew weary of their new Government; and hearti-
 ly pray'd, that their General might never return from *Scot-*
land,

land, but that, he being destroy'd there, the King might return Victorious into *London*. The bitterness and prosecution against their Brethren in *England*, and the old Animosity they had long borne against the Person of *Cromwell*, made those in Authority in that Kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his Invasion, and to draw together a very numerous Body of Men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but Courage and Conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this Army, that they suffer'd few or no Officers, or Soldiers, who had been in the Engagement of Duke *Hamilton*, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the King or to the *Hamiltonian* Party, to be lifted or receiv'd into their Service. So that they had only some old discredited Officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of Command, had stuck close to *Argyle* and to the Party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole Army was under the Government of a Committee of the Kirk and the State; in which the Ministers exercised the sole Authority, and prayed and preached against the Vices of the Court, and the Impiety and Tyranny of *Cromwell*, equally; and promised their Army Victory over the Enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The King desir'd that he might Command this Army, at least run the Fortune of it. But they were hardly prevail'd with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the Common Soldiers seem'd to be much pleas'd to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater distance from the Army; declaring, "that they found the Soldiers too much inclin'd to put their Confidence in the Arm of Flesh; whereas their hope and dependence was to be only in God; and they were most assur'd of Victory by the Prayers, and Piety of the Kirk."

*The Scots
raise an Army
against him.*

In *July* *Cromwell* enter'd *Scotland*, and march'd without any opposition till he came within less than a days Journey of *Edenborough*; where he found the *Scottish* Army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his Quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the Country was so destroyed behind him, and the Passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his Provision for Horse and Foot from *England* by Sea; insomuch as the Army was reduced to great straits; and the *Scots* really believ'd, that they had them all at their Mercy, except such as would Embark on board their Ships. But as soon as *Cromwell* had recover'd some Provisions, his Army begun to remove, and seem'd to provide for their March. Whether that March was to retire out of so barren a Coun-

*Cromwell
enters Scot-
land.*

The distress
of Crom-
well's Ar-
my.

a Country for want of Provisions (which no doubt were very scarce ; and the Season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary Supplies by Sea, for it was now the Month of *September*) or whether that motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the *Scots* had remain'd within their Trenches, and sent Parties of Horse to have follow'd the *English* Army closely, they must have so disorder'd them, that they would have left their Cannon, and all their heavy Carriage behind them, besides the danger the Foot must have been in. But the *Scots* did not intend to part with them so easily ; they doubted not but to have the Spoil of the whole Army. And therefore they no sooner discern'd that the *English* were upon their march, but they decamped, and follow'd with their whole Body all the Night following, and found themselves in the Morning within a small distance of the Enemy : for *Cromwell* was quickly advertised that the *Scottish* Army was dislodged, and marched after him ; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his Men in good order. The *Scots* found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagin'd, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a Hill, as they believ'd the *English* would not have the Courage to attack them there.

Cromwell
entirely routs
the *Scots* in
the Battle of
Dunbar.

BUT *Cromwell* knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no Trenches, or Fortifications to keep him from them ; and therefore he made hast to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage-ground soever they stood. Their Horse did not sustain one Charge ; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The Foot depended much upon their Ministers, who preach'd, and pray'd, and assured them of the Victory, till the *English* were upon them ; and some of their Preachers were knock'd in the head, whilst they were promising the Victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that *Cromwell* lost very few Men by that days Service, yet the Execution was very terrible upon the Enemy ; the whole Body of the Foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces ; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing ; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place ; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their Horse, were without terrible wounds ; of which very many died shortly after ; especially such of their Ministers who were not kill'd upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any Body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the croud, but by very good will. All the Cannon, Ammunition, Carriages, and Baggage, were entirely

tirely taken, and *Cromwell* with his victorious Army march'd directly to *Edenborough*; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his Army, which stood in need of it. Cromwell enters Edenborough.

NEVER Victory was attended with less lamentations: for *Cromwell* had great argument of Triumph in the total Defeat and destruction of the only Army that was in *Scotland*; which Defeat had put a great part of that Kingdom, and the chief City of it, under his Obedience; so the King, who was then at *St Johnston's*, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a Body of his Enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his Majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a Prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffer'd already: for the Lord *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, being Captain of his Guard, had so watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this Defeat, they all look'd upon the King as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his Servants, who had been sequester'd from him from his Arrival in the Kingdom, to attend, and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's Coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some Ministers begun to Preach obedience to the King; the Officers, who had been cashier'd for their Malignity, talk'd aloud of "the miscarriages in the Government, and that the Kingdom was betrayed to the Enemy for want of confidence in the King, who alone could preserve the Nation. They of the Council seem'd not to have so absolute a dependence upon the Marquis of *Argyle*, but spoke more freely than they had us'd to do; and the Marquis apply'd himself more to the King, and to those about him: so that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this Victory, as well as *Cromwell*, though his Majesty's advantage was discern'd by a few Men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the Kingdom; but the other made the *clat*. The destruction of the only Army, and the possessing of *Edenborough*, was look'd upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole Kingdom.

DON *Alonso* made hast to send the News into *Spain* of "the total and irrecoverable defeat of the King; that he was "driven into the High-lands; from whence he would be "compell'd to fly, as soon as he could get means to escape: that "the Republick was now settled, and no more fear or hope "of the King: the effect of all which, the Embassadors quickly found at *Madrid*, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that
the

the Common People appear'd to have a much more generous sense of the Alteration, than the others did. The Embassadors receiv'd shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and "that the King thought his condition much improv'd by the "defeat; and they used all the means they could, by several Audiences, to inform the King of *Spain* and *Don Lewis* of the truth; and "that they were misinform'd, as if the Army "overthrown was the King's; whereas they were indeed as "much his Enemies, as *Cromwell's* was. But in this they could obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily with'd they were gone; which they were resolv'd to take no notice of.

The Secretary of State brings a message from the King of Spain to the Embassadors to desire them to be gone.

IN the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King; and told them, "that they had been "now above a year in that Court, where they had been well "treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might "very justly have incens'd his Catholick Majesty (mentioning the death of *Asibam*) "that they were Extraordinary Embassadors, and so needed not any Letters of Revocation; "that they had receiv'd Answers to all they had propos'd, and "were at liberty to depart; which his Catholick Majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the Court would "be very prejudicial to his Affairs. This unexpected and unusual Message, deliver'd ungracefully enough by an old Man, who, notwithstanding his Office, was look'd upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "that he had "mistaken his Message, at least that he had deliver'd it with "less Courtly circumstances than he ought to have done. And therefore they return'd no other Answer, than "that they "would attend *Don Lewis de Haro*, and understand from Him

They apply to Don Lewis.

"the King's pleasure. The next day, they sent for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; whom they found with a less open Countenance than he us'd to have; nor did he appear any thing more Courtly than the Secretary had done; but told them, that there were Orders sent to such a Person (whom he named) to prepare their present; which should be ready within very few days; and press'd them very plainly, and without any regard to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of *January*, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that respect, did exceedingly concern the service of the King. This made the Embassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal Embassadour upon his way from *England*, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like Accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the Town as many Pictures, and other choice and rich Furniture, as did load eighteen Mules; which, as

The reason of their being press'd to depart Madrid in such haste.

was

was said before, *Don Alonso* had bought of the King's goods, and then sent to the *Groyne*, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the Palace, whilst the Embassadors should continue and remain in the Town.

THIS injunction to leave *Madrid*, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the Embassadors. The Lord *Ottington* was at this time seventy six years of Age, once or twice in a year troubled with the Gout, in other respects of great vigour of Body and Mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolv'd, when he first propos'd this Embassy to the King, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into *England*, by the time that his Embassy should expire, he would remain and die in *Spain*. But he did then believe, that he should have found another kind of Entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserv'd very well from that Nation, having always perform'd those Offices towards them which made him look'd upon at home as too well affected to that People, which, together with his constant opposition of the *French*, had render'd him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desir'd, and expected; as when their Fleet, under the command of *Opando*, about the year 1639, had been assaulted in the *Downs*, and defeated by the *Dutch* Fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their Embassadors, who were then in *England*, whereof *Don Alonso* was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do Himself harm, and could do Them no good. But these Omissions were now remember'd, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touch'd before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had receiv'd, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

THERE was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in *Spain*, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discern'd, and knew to be the true cause of all the discountenance he had met with in that Court (though he was willing the other Embassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded

from what had pass'd in *England*) which was then remember'd in the discourse of the Court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*, and had constantly gone to the Mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in *England* to be of the Religion of the Church of *England*, he was Apostatiz'd from the other; which, in that Country, is look'd upon as such a Brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that King's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any enquiry into Religion to inform himself, but had conform'd to that which the Province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in *England* of being well affected to that Church, and was always look'd upon as most inclin'd to the *Roman*, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at Prayers, and Sermons, and sometimes receiving the Sacrament, as he did the very last *Sunday* he stay'd in the *Hague* before he begun his Journey towards *Spain*; and even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the Common Prayers both Morning, and Evening, by their own Chaplain, in their House, as long as the Chaplain liv'd: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in *England*, he would have died in the Communion of that Church. But there is no doubt, he did resolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in *Spain*, that he would become a *Roman* Catholick again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any Priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the House, he found, that after an Apostacy, as they term'd it, it was not in the power of any Priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserv'd to the Pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuntios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other Embassadour; towards whom this was the only secret he reserv'd. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the Nuntio had sent him such and such Messages by that Jesuit concerning those Gentlemen who were in Prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the *Venetian* Embassadour had formerly deliver'd from him: at last, he told him, "that he found the Nuntio had somewhat to say in that Affair which he would not communicate by Message, but wish'd to speak with him in private; for publicly he must not be known to have any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolv'd to

"go incognito in *Sr Benjamin Wright's* Coach to him: which he did, and was then reconciled; and return'd home, making such a relation of their conference to his Companion as he thought fit; and deliver'd the Nuntio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the Affair was: for, besides that the Nuntio could not perform the Office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other Embassadour might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the President *de la Hacienda*, who carried them into his Library, whilst the other Embassadour was casting his Eyes upon some Books (it being the best private Library in *Madrid*) the Lord *Cottingham* told the President, "that he was himself a Catholic, but that his Companion was an obstinate Heretick: of which the President sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to Communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

THIS difficulty being over, there remain'd yet another; *The Lord* which was, his having permission to stay in that Country; *Cottingham* for which he address'd himself to *Don Lewis*; mentioned *resolves to* "his Age; his infirmity of the Gout; which would infallibly *stay as a private Man* "seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should pro- *in Spain.* "voke it by an extraordinary Motion; in a word, that it "was impossible for him to make the Journey. *Don Lewis* told him, "he could answer him to part of what he said without "speaking to the King; that he must not think of staying "with the Character of an Embassadour, nor of residing in "*Madrid*, in how private a condition soever; if he desired "any thing with these two restraints, he would move the "King in it. The other told him, "that he submitted to both "these conditions; and only desired Licence to reside in "*Valadolid*, where he had liv'd many years, when the Court remain'd there, in the time of King *Philip* the third.

THIS place was not dislik'd; and within few days, *Don Lewis* sent him word "that the King approv'd it; and that "he should have a Letter to the chief Magistrate there, to treat "him with all respect; and that his Majesty would take care "that he should not undergo any distress, but would supply "him as his necessities required. And, shortly after, a Message was sent to the Embassadours to let them know, that the King had appointed such a day for to give them an Audience *The Embassadors have* to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; however, they perform'd their Ceremonies; and about the beginning of *March*, after they had been *Audience of leave.*

The Lord
Cottington
lives at
Valladolid
till he dies.

His Char-
acter.

in that Court near fifteen Months, they both left *Madrid* in the same hour: the Lord *Cottington* taking his Course for *Valladolid*; where he had the same House provided, and made ready for him by the care of the *English* Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at the time of his Agency, when the Court resided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his Age.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of Anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frighted with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the Grammar of any Language, or the principles of any Science, but by his perfectly understanding the *Spanish* (which he spoke as a *Spaniard*) the *French*, and *Italian* Languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of Learning, Divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the Nature of Beasts and Birds, and above all in all kind of Plantations and Arts of Husbandry. He was born a Gentleman both by Father and Mother, his Father having a pretty entire Seat near *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from Father to Son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his Elder Brother's Children, the Family having been always Roman Catholick. His Mother was a *Stafford*, nearly allied to *Sr Edward Stafford*; who was Vice-Chamberlain to *Queen Elizabeth*, and had been Embassadour in *France*; by whom this Gentleman was brought up, and was Gentleman of his Horse, and left one of his Executors of his Will, and by him recommended to *Sr Robert Cecil*, then Principal Secretary of State; who preferr'd him to *Sr Charles Cornwallis*, when he went Embassadour into *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of *King James*; where he remain'd, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into *England* in all that time. He rais'd by his own Virtue and Industry a very fair Estate, of which, though the Revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good Houses, and three Parks, the value whereof was not reckon'd into that computation. He liv'd very Nobly, well serv'd, and attended in his House; had a better Stable of Horses, better provision for Sports (especially of Hawks, in which he took great delight) than most of his Quality, and liv'd always with great splendour; for though he lov'd Money very well, and did not warily

enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, cover'd the most of mirth, and caused more, than any Man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any Body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make Men believe that he lov'd them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender Affections, nor Bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserv'd compassion: He was heartily weary of the world, and no Man was more willing to die; which is an Argument that he had peace of Conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his Parts, than love to his Person.

THE other Embassadour was dismissed with much more Courtesy: for when they heard that his Family remain'd at *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he receiv'd other Orders from the King his Master, they gave him all dispatches thither which might be of use to him in those Parts. The King of *Spain* himself used many gracious Expressions to him at his last Audience, and sent afterwards to him a Letter for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the Embassadour; and commanded "that, whilst he should choose to reside in those Parts, under his Government, he should receive all Respect, and enjoy all Privileges as an Embassadour: and *Don Lewis de Haro* writ likewise to the Arch-Duke, and the Count of *Fuenfaldagna*, "to look upon him as His particular Friend: all which Ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the Embassadour: for besides the Treatment he receiv'd from the Arch-Duke himself in *Brussels*, as Embassadour, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the Magistrates at *Antwerp*, that he enjoy'd the privilege of his Chapel, and all the *English*, who were numerous then in that City, repair'd thither with all freedom for their Devotion, and the exercise of their Religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any Man there, and which the *English*, and *Irish* Priests, and the Roman Catholicks of those Nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the Endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

IN his passage through *France* he waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which *Cromwell* had obtained in *Scotland* (though the King was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the Court of *Spain*; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a condition

The other
Embassadour
dismiss'd
very courte-
ously.

In his pas-
sage through
France he
waits on the
Queen Mo-
ther.

dition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

THERE had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled *France* very much, and no less pleased *Spain*; which was the death of the Prince of *Orange*; a young Prince of great hope and expectation, and of a Spirit that desir'd to be in Action. He had found, that the Peace between *Spain* and the Low-Countries, which his Father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former Princes had enjoy'd; and therefore he wish'd nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offer'd to enter upon the War. He complain'd loudly, that the Court of *Spain* had not observ'd, nor perform'd, many of those Conditions which it was oblig'd to do for the particular benefit of him, and his Family: whereby he continued involv'd in many Debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adher'd to that Party in the States which were known most to favour the Interest of *France*; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other Ministers of that Crown, us'd all possible care and endeavour to cultivate: and *Spain* was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that Alteration, and with the Conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolv'd to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepar'd at *Madrid* to be sent to him, ten brave *Spanish* Horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds Sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of Plate, Jewels, and perfum'd Leather, to the Princess Royal his Wife; and a full assurance, "that they would forthwith begin to perform all the Articles which were to be done by them, and finish all within a short time.

His Princess
deliver'd of
a Son shortly
after.

THE Express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his Journey within two days, when the News arriv'd, by an Express from *Brussels*, who came in as short a time as could be imagin'd, that the Prince of *Orange* was dead of the small Pox, and had left the Princess with Child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a Son within few days after his decease. The Court at *Madrid* could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the Enemy whose influence they most apprehended, was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, *France* own'd a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a Man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their Friends in *Holland*, might, in a short time, be much superior to that Party in the States which adher'd to the *Spanish* Interest.

BUT

BUT no Body receiv'd so insupportable prejudice; and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of Great Britain did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken Affection and Friendship, that hath ever been perform'd towards any Person under any signal Misfortune. Besides the assisting him, upon several emergent occasions, with greater Sums of Money than were easy to his incumber'd Fortune, his Reputation, and his declar'd Resolution, "that he would venture all he had in that Quarrel, dispos'd many to be more concern'd for his Majesty. Though he could not prevail over that Faction in *Holland*, which were known to favour *Cromwell* (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his Power and Greatness) to induce them to serve the King, yet he kept the States General from consenting to that infamous Alliance and Conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they enter'd into with the new Republick; and which they would never have yielded to, if He had liv'd. And, no doubt, the respect both *France* and *Spain* had for Him, and his Interposition, had prevail'd with both to be more restrain'd than they afterwards appear'd to be, in a total declining all consideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his Restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent Farewel the Embassadors had receiv'd in *Spain*: For the news of the Prince's death had arriv'd there some time before their departure; and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in *France* of any possible hope for our King, but very much lessen'd the Respect, and Civility, which that Court had always shew'd to the Queen her self, as a Daughter of *France*; towards whom they express'd not that regard they had formerly done.

BUT there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majesty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from *Spain*. Upon the Interview which had been between the King and the Queen at *Beauvais*, when the King went for *Holland*, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own Person into *Scotland*, he had left his Brother the Duke of *York* with the Queen, with direction "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his Mother, "matters of Religion only excepted. And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her Commands, because, besides his Piety and Duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her Bounty for his Support; the Court of *France* not taking any notice of this increase of her expence, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness

*The King
lost a sure
Friend in the
Prince.*

*Touching the
Duke of
York left
with the
Queen.*

in her Nature, so to supply him as to make his Condition pleasant to him ; but exercised the same Austere Carriage towards him, which she had done to the Prince his Brother, and as unsuccessfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous Family of his own, not well enough inclin'd to be contented, and consisting of Persons who lov'd not one another, nor their Master well enough to consider him before themselves : which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that Credit with him, that, at such an Age, some good Men ought to have had : which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his Escape out of *England* (as is mention'd before) he had only one Person attending him (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his Service) whose Merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him ; and he quickly appear'd to be so unworthy of it, that he was remov'd from it. Then was the time that such Persons should have been placed about him, as might have both discover'd such infirmities, as his Nature might incline him to, and have infused those Principles of Virtue, and Honour, as he was most capable of, and dispos'd to ; and which had been as proper for his present Misfortune, as for his highest Dignity. But that Province was wholly committed to the Queen his Mother by the late King, who was then in Prison ; and her Majesty being then at *Paris*, when the Duke Landed in *Holland*, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject requir'd ; and so was perswaded by others to consider them more than her Son ; and made hast to put such a Family about him, with reference to the Number, and to the Offices which they were design'd to serve in, as was above the Greatness to which the younger Son of the Crown of *England* could pretend, by the Usage and Custom of that Kingdom, when it was in the greatest Splendour ; and all this, when there was not in view the least Revenue to Support it, but that the whole Charge and Burthen of it must inevitably fall upon Her ; of which her Majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her Mind

THE Duke was full of Spirit and Courage, and naturally lov'd designs, and desir'd to engage himself in some Action that might improve and advance the low Condition of the King his Brother ; towards whom he had an inviolable Affection and Fidelity, superior to any Temptation. He was not pleas'd with the treatment he receiv'd in *France*, nor had confidence enough in any of his Servants, to be advis'd by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any Enterprize

terprise which his own Passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much Credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own Condition to him; "the little regard the Queen appear'd to have of him, the lustre that some of her Servants liv'd in, and those who depended upon them, whilst his Royal Highness wanted all that was necessary, and his Servants were expos'd to the most scandalous necessities and contempt; which suggestions, by degrees, began to abate that reverence in him to the Queen his Mother, to which he was very dutifully inclin'd.

THERE were at that time two Persons, who, though without any relation to the Court, very much frequented the Duke's Lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, *Sr Edward Herbert*, the late King's Attorney General (of whom much is said before) and *Sr George Ratcliff*, who had been design'd by that King to attend upon the Duke of York into *Ireland*, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his Service there. The Duke looked upon them both as Wise Men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence, and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to persuade him to dislike the Condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other place than in *France*. They spoke often to him of the Duke of *Lorraine*, "as a pattern and example for all unfortunate Princes to follow: That he being, by the power and injustice of the King of *France*, driven out of his Principality and Dominions, had, by his own Virtue and Activity, put himself in the head of an Army; by which he made himself so considerable, that he was Courted by both the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and might make his Conditions with either according to his own election; and in the mean time liv'd with great Reputation, and in great Plenty, esteem'd by all the World for his Courage and Conduct. With these, and the like discourses, the Duke was much pleased, and amused, and wish'd in himself that he could be put into such a Condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been propos'd to him, whose Condition was more unlike his, or whose Fortune and Manners he was less to wish to follow, or less able to imitate. For the Duke of *Lorraine* had for many years before his Misfortunes, had a great name in War, and was looked upon as one of the greatest Captains of *Christianity*; and had drawn the Armes and Power of *France* upon him, by his inconstancy, and adhering to *Spain*, contrary

Sr Edward Herbert and Sr G. Ratcliff have great interest in him.

They recommended to him the pattern of the Duke of Lorraine

The Duke of Lorraine's Character.

to his Treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and when he was driven out of his own Country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good Army, and possessed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into *Flanders*, both as his Misfortune proceeded from his Affection to their King, and as his Forces were necessary for their defence. And so he made such Conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself, and yet, in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the same footsteps.

The King believ'd in France to be dead.

WITH the report of the defeat of that Army by *Cromwell* in *Scotland* (which was the first good fortune to the King) or shortly after, some Letters from *England* brought Intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerously Sick; and shortly after, that he was Dead; which was believ'd in *England*, and from thence transmitted into *France*. This gave a new Alarm to those two Gentlemen mention'd before, who receiv'd this information from such Friends in *England*, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in: and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirm'd, and believ'd.

The Duke of York acquaints his Mother that he will go to Brussels; whether he goes.

WHETHER they imparted this nice consideration to the Duke or not, his Highness, without any Preface of the Motives, told the Queen, "he was resolv'd to make a Journey to *Brussels*; who, being exceedingly surpris'd, ask'd him the reason; and "how he could be able to make such a Journey? which she in truth believ'd impossible for him, since she knew he had no Money. His Answer in short was, "that he would visit the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been always a Friend to his Father, and continued his Affection to the King his Brother; and he had some reason to believe, that Duke "would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his Majesty's service; and that he was resolv'd to begin his Journey the next day; from which, neither the Queen's advice, nor Authority, could divert him. Her Majesty quickly discern'd, that neither the Lord *Byron*, nor *St John Berkeley*, nor *M^r Bennet*, his Secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded who the Counsellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could to lessen the Duke's esteem of them. They well foresaw that the want of Money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the Journey would be render'd impossible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own store, procur'd as much as would defray the Journey to *Brussels*;

Brussels; which, by the Duke's directions, was put into the hands of *Sr George Ratcliffe*, and to be managed by his providence and discretion. And then he publickly declar'd his resolution to begin his Journey the next day for *Brussels*, leaving his Servants to make what shift they could to stay there, or follow him.

SINCE there was no remedy, the Queen thought it necessary that his chief Servants should wait on him, that she might receive an Account what progress he made; and what his design could be: so the Lord *Byron*, and *Mr Bennet*, made themselves ready for the Journey; *Sr John Berkley* choosing to stay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exercised the supreme Charge. And so, with the other two Counsellors, and many of the inferior Servants, the Duke, according to his resolution, left the Queen; and, when he came to *Brussels*, he lodged at the House of *Sr Henry de Vic* the King's Resident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two Counsellors began to form his Family, and to confer Offices upon those who were most acceptable to them; presuming that they should shortly receive News from *England*, which would confirm all that they had done under other Titles. In the mean time the Government of the House, and ordering the expence, was committed wholly to *Sr George Ratcliffe*, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the Councils, and directing all the politick designs. The Duke of *Lorraine* had visited the Duke upon his first Arrival, and being inform'd of the streights his Royal Highness was in, presented him with one thousand Pistols. But now the secret ground of all their Counsels was found to be without any reality: the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an Army that look'd *Cromwell* in the Face; which destroy'd all the Machine they had rais'd: yet, being too far Embark'd to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of *Lorraine* had shew'd towards the Duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a Marriage between the Duke of *York* and the Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine* by the Countess of *Centenoy*; whom he had publickly Married, but which Marriage was declar'd at *Rome* to be void, by reason that his former Wife was still alive.

His two Counsellors propose a Match for him with the Duke of *Lorraine's* Daughter,

WHEN the Duke of *Lorraine* saw how the Affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord *Byron*, and *Mr Bennet*, who were Men well bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof was his Governour and the other his Secretary, who by their Offices ought to be more trusted in an Affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two Persons, who were

Men

*The Duke
visits his Si-
ster at the
Hague.*

Men of a very unusual mien, appear'd in it, and that only *St George Ratcliffe* undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in *Latin*, which the Duke cared not to speak in, he declin'd entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approv'd by his Majesty. Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to stay longer at *Brussels*, they perswaded the Duke to visit his Sister at the *Hague*, and there to consider, and advise what was next to be done.

Of all these particulars the Queen complain'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two Gentlemen, whose fidelity to the King she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she requir'd him, "that as soon as he should come into *Flanders*, he would make a Journey to the *Hague*, and prevail "with the Duke (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "to "return again to *Paris*; which the Chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that Sally had administer'd, as if there were a Schism in the Royal Family in a season when so much union was requisite.

THERE was another instance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the Court of *France* could express towards him, and of which all the Protestant Party of the Queen's Family complain'd very vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in *France*, the late King had appointed a Chaplain of his own, *Dr Cosins*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her Household, the number of her Protestant Servants being much superior to those who were Roman Catholics. And the Queen had always punctually comply'd with the King's directions, and used the Chaplain very graciously, and assign'd him a competent support with the rest of her Servants. An under Room in the *Louvre*, out of any common passage, had been assign'd for their Morning and Evening Devotions; the Key whereof was committed to the Chaplain; who caused the Room to be decently furnish'd, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the Prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stay'd, he perform'd his Devotions all the Week, but went *Sundays* still to the Resident's House to hear Sermons. At this time an Order was sent from the Queen Regent, "that that Room should be no more apply'd to that "purpose, and that the *French* King would not permit the
"Exercise

*Dr Cosins
forbid to offi-
ciate to the
Protestants in
the Queen's
Family at
Paris.*

"Exercise of any other Religion in any of his Houses than the
 "Roman Catholick: and the Queen gave notice to the Chap-
 lain "that she was no longer able to continue the payment
 "of the Exhibition she had formerly assign'd to him. The
 Protestants, whereof many were of the best Quality, lamented
 this Alteration to the Chancellour of the Exchequer; and de-
 fired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the
 more title to do, because, at his going into *Spain*, she had
 vouchsafed to promise him (upon some Rumours, of which
 he took notice) "that the same Privilege which had been,
 "should still be continued, and enjoy'd by the Protestants of
 "her Household; and that she would provide for the Chap-
 lain's Subsistence. He presum'd therefore to speak with her
 Majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, "what ill im-
 "pression this new Order would make upon the Protestants
 "of all the King's Dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to
 "depend for his Restoration; and how much prejudice it
 "might be to her self, to be looked upon as a greater Enemy
 "to Protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be;
 "and likewise, whether this Order, which had been given
 "since the departure of the Duke of *Tork*, might not be made
 "use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his
 "going away at first, since the precise time when it issued,
 "would not be generally understood. The Queen heard him
 very graciously, and acknowledged "that what he said had
 "reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy
 "to apply to it; that she had been herself surpris'd with that
 "Order, and was troubled at it; but that the Queen Regent
 "was positive in it, and blamed her for want of Zeal in her
 "Religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to con-
 "vert any of her Children. She wish'd him "to confer with
 "Mr. *Mountague* upon it; and imply'd, "that His bigotry in
 "his new Religion, had contributed much to the procuring
 "that Order. He had newly taken Orders, and was become
 Priest in that Church, and had great power with the Queen
 Regent, as well for his Animosity against that Religion he
 Had profess'd, as for his vehement Zeal for the Church of
 which he now was. Upon this occasion, her Majesty expres-
 sed a great sense of the loss she had sustain'd by the death of
 her old Confessor, Father *Philips*; who, she said, "was a
 "prudent and discreet Man; and would never suffer her to be
 "press'd to any passionate undertakings, under pretence of
 "doing good for Catholicks; and always told her, that, as she
 "ought to continue firm and constant to her own Religion,
 "so she was to live well towards the Protestants, who deserv'd
 "well from her, and to whom she was beholding. She said,
 "it would not be possible to have the same or any other Room
 "set

*The Chancel-
 ler speaks
 with the
 Queen about
 it.*

*The Queen's
 Answer.*

“set aside, or allow’d to be used as a Chapel; but that she
 “would take such course, that the Family might meet for the
 “Exercise of their Devotion in some private Room that be-
 “long’d to their Lodgings : and that though her own Exhibi-
 “tion was so ill paid, that she was indebted to all her Ser-
 “vants, yet she would give order that Doctor *Cosins* (against
 “whom she had some personal exceptions) should receive his
 “Salary, in proportion with the rest of her Servants. She bid
 him “assure the Duke of *York*, that he should have a free Ex-
 “ercise of his Religion, as he had before, though it must not
 “be in the same place.

*The Chancel-
 lor confers
 with Mr
 Mounta-
 gue about it,*

THE Chancellor conferr’d with Mr *Mountague* upon the
 Subject ; and offer’d the same reasons which he had done to
 the Queen ; which he looked upon as of no moment ; but
 said, “that the King of *France* was Master in his own House,
 “and he was resolv’d, though the King of *England* himself
 “should come thither again, never to permit any solemn ex-
 “ercise of the Protestant Religion in any House of his. The
 consideration of what the Protestants in *England* might think
 on this occasion, was of least moment to him ; and it was in-
 deed the Common discourse there, “that the Protestants of the
 “Church of *England* could never do the King Service, but that
 “all his hopes must be in the Roman Catholicks, and the
 “Presbyterians ; and that he ought to give all satisfaction
 “to both those Parties.

WHEN the Chaancellor of the Exchequer came to *Antwerp*,
 with a purpose to make a Journey speedily to the *Hague*, he
 was inform’d, “that the States were much offended that the
 “Duke of *York* remain’d there ; and therefore that the Princess
 “Royal (who now more depended upon their favour than
 ever ; her own Joynture, as well as the fortune of her Son,
 being to be settled in their Judicatory) “could no longer en-
 “ertain him, but that he would be the next day at *Breda*.

*The Chancel-
 lor finds the
 Duke of
 York at
 Breda ; and
 the factions
 of the Duke’s
 family there.*

Thither the Chancellor immediately went ; and found the
 Duke there with a Family in all the confusion imaginable, in
 present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be
 done next. They all censur’d and reproach’d the Counsel by
 which they had been guided, and the Counsellors as bitterly
 inveigh’d against each other, for undertaking many things
 which had no foundation in truth. They who concurr’d in
 nothing else, were equally severe against the Attorney, as a
 Man of that intolerable pride that it was not possible for any
 Man to converse with him. He as frankly reproach’d them
 all with being Men of no parts, of no understanding, nor
 learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to
 them all, as to condemn every Man of them alike. In truth
 he had render’d himself so grievous to them all, that there was

no Man who desired to be in his Company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retain'd still too much credit with the Duke; who, being amus'd and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the Journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not enter'd upon them with reason enough; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Queen's Letter, which the Chancellor deliver'd to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolv'd to begin his Journey to *Paris* without any delay; and look'd upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to *Antwerp*; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made hast to *Paris*, and was receiv'd by the Queen his Mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were not solicitous, by any Apologies or Confession, to recover her favour: for the true reason that had sway'd them being not to beavow'd, any other that they could devise and suggest, would have render'd them more inexcusable.

The Duke returns to Paris to the Queen.

DURING this time, the King underwent all kind of Mortifications in *Scotland*. But after the defeat of the *Scotish* Army in *September*, with which the King and *Cromwell* were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the Marquis of *Argyle's* Empire seem'd not to be so absolute. A new Army was appointed to be rais'd; the King himself interpos'd more than he had done; and the Noblemen and Officers came to him with more Confidence; and his Majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: Yet the Power was still in *Argyle's* hands; who, under all the professions of Humility, exercis'd still the same Tyranny; insomuch as the King grew weary of his own Patience, and resolv'd to make some attempt to free himself. Dr *Frazier*, who had been the King's Physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his Person, and very much contributed to the King's Journey into *Scotland*, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by *Argyle*; who knew that he was a Creature of the *Hamiltonians*, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active Spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his Attendance. There were many Officers who had serv'd in Duke *Hamilton's* Engagement, as *Middleton*, and others, who had very entire Affections for the King; and many of them had corresponded with

The King's affairs in Scotland.

Mountrose, and resolv'd to have join'd with him; and finding themselves excluded, as all of them were, from any Employment by the Power of *Argyle*, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good Season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these *Dr Frazier* had held correspondence whilst he was in the Court, and had often spoken to the King of their Affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majesty's gracious Acceptation of their Service, and his Resolution to employ them. And now not being himself suffer'd to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held Intelligence with the Lord *Lauterdale*, who had always great confidence in him; and the Officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did (for his Fidelity was never suspected) he gave the King such an Account of their Numbers, as well as Resolutions, that his Majesty appointed a day for their Rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a Declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the Person of *Argyle*; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* gave himself wholly up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some of the Letters which had passed, by the King's having left his Cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

The King withdraws towards the Highlands, which was called the Start.

But is persuaded to return the next day.

The King better used afterwards by Argyle. A Parliament summons'd in the King's name

BUT *Argyle* did not think the time so near; so that the King did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty Horse, into the Highlands, and lodged there one night; neither the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor any Body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contriv'd and conducted by *Dr Frazier*, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruin'd the King. It was afterwards call'd the *Start*; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of Wise Men, very much to his Majesty's advantage. For though he was compell'd the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it (for as the Company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a Troop of Horse, which he looked not for, sent by *Argyle*, who used very effectual instance with him to return) yet notwithstanding, this Declaration of his Majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the People generally spoke upon it, " that the King was not treated as he ought to be, made the Marquis of *Argyle* change his Counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the King. A Summons was sent out, in the King's name,

name, to call a Parliament ; and great preparations were really made for the Coronation ; and the Season of the year, against which *Cromwell* was securing himself in *Edenborough*, and making Provisions for his Army, the Winter coming on, and the strong Passes which were easy then to be guarded hindered the Enemies advance : so that the King resided, sometimes at *Sterling*, and sometimes at *St Johnstone's*, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at *Sterling*, and shortly after brought all the Lords of the other Party thither, who appear'd to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with which the Engagement had defaced them, yet with submission to stand publickly in the Stool of Repentance, acknowledging their former Transgressions ; as they all did.

*It meets at
Sterling,
and recon-
ciles the
Lords.*

DUKE Hamilton and *Lauderdale* were welcome to the King, and nearest his Confidence ; which neither the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had cast off their Friendship as unuseful, nor the Marquis of *Argyle*, were pleased with. The King himself grew very Popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the Knights and Burgesses, got any thing passed in the Parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous Acts to be repeal'd, and provided for the raising an Army, where- of himself was General ; and no exceptions were taken to those Officers who had formerly serv'd the King his Father.

*An Army
raised, of
which the
King is
General.
The Corona-
tion.*

THE Coronation was passed with great Solemnity and Magnificence, all Men making shew of Joy, and of being united to serve his Majesty : yet the Marquis of *Argyle* preserv'd his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the King had a purpose to Marry one of his Daughters ; which was carried so far, that the King could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an Express into *France* for the Queen his Mother's consent (which seem'd not to be doubted of) and to that purpose Captain *Titus*, a Person grateful to *Argyle*, and to all the Presbyterian Party, was sent ; who, finding the Queen less warm upon the Proposition than was expected, made less hast back ; so that the Fate of *Scotland* was first determin'd.

THE King's Army was as well modelled, and in as good a Condition as it was like to be whilst he stay'd in *Scotland*. By that time that *Cromwell* was ready to take the Field, his Majesty was perswaded to make *David Lesley* his Lieutenant General of the Army ; who had very long experience, and a very good Name in War ; and *Middleton* Commanded the Horse. The Artillery was in very good order under the Command of *Wemmes*, who had not the worse Reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's Father. He was a confest good Officer ; and there were, or could be, very

Cromwell
endeavours
to fight the
King's Ar-
my.

very few Officers of any superior Command, but such who had drawn their Swords against his late Majesty; most of those who had serv'd under the Marquis of *Montrose*, having been put to death. Many of the greatest Noblemen had rais'd Regiments, or Troops; and all the young Gentlemen of the Kingdom appear'd very hearty and chearful in Commands, or Volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seem'd a Body equal in any respect, and superior in Number, to the Enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desir'd nothing more than to come to Battle; which was not thought Counsellable for the King's Army to engage in, except upon very notable Advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep River between them; and if they kept the Passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly choose but keep, *Cromwell* must in a very few days want Provisions, and so be forced to retire, whilst the King had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the advantage of the Passes, be in his Rere as soon as he thought fit.

Both Armies
near each
other in the
Months of
June and
July.

Cromwell
gains a Pass,
and gets be-
hind the
King.

IN this posture both Armies stood in view of each other near the two Months of *June* and *July*, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal Success. About the end of *July*, by the cowardise or treachery of Major General *Brown*, who had a body of four thousand Men to keep it, *Cromwell's* Forces under *Lambert* gain'd the Pass, by which they got behind the King; and though they could not compel his Majesty to fight, for there was still the great River between them, they were possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the Country; and so would not only have sufficient Provision for their own Army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the King's. This was a great surprise to the King, and put him into new Counsels; and he did, with the unanimous Advice of almost all the principal Officers, and all those who were admitted to the Council, take a resolution worthy of his Courage; which, how unfortunate soever it prov'd, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

THE King was now, by *Cromwell's* putting himself behind him, much nearer to *England* than He: nor was it possible for him to overtake his Majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the King had been some days march before him: his Majesty's fate depended upon the Success of one Battle: for a possible Escape into the High-lands, after a Defeat, there was no Kingly prospect: all the Northern parts of *England* had given him cause to believe that they were very well affected to his Service, and if he could reach
those

those Countries, he might presume to encrease his Army, which was numerous enough, with an Addition of such Men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolv'd that the Army should immediately march, with as much Expedition as was possible, into *England*, by the nearest ways, which led into *Lancashire*, whither the King sent Expresses to give those, of whom he expected much (by reason some of them had been in *Scotland* with him, with promise of large undertakings) notice of his purpose, that they might get their Soldiers together to receive him. His Majesty sent likewise an Express to the Isle of *Man*, where the Earl of *Derby* had securely reposed himself from the end of the former War, "that he should meet his Majesty in *Lancashire*. The Marquis of *Argyle* was the only Man who dissuaded his Majesty's march into *England*, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and, when the King began his march, retired to his House in the High-lands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made Prisoner, and left so secured that he might not be able to do mischief when the King was gone, which most Men believ'd he would incline to. But his Majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt any thing while the Army was entire: if it prevailed, he neither would, nor could do any harm; and if it were defeated, it would be no great matter what he did.

THOUGH *Cromwell* was not frequently without good Intelligence what was done in the King's Army, and Councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he receiv'd the least advertisement of it. It was not a small surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole Army, all the Advantages he had got in *Scotland*, would be presently lost, and the whole Kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whose Army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than His could do. There were two considerations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his Army was nearer to them, than their own Army was for their defence; and he knew that he had Enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his Conduct: the other was, the Apprehension, that, if the King had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely en-

crease and strengthen his Army by the resort of the People, as well as the Gentry and Nobility, from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the *Scottish* Army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of Numbers, and disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with *English*, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could : he dispatched an Express to the Parliament, to prevent their being surpris'd with the News ; and to assure them, " that he would himself overtake the Enemy before they should give them any trouble ; and gave such farther Orders for drawing the Auxiliary Troops together in the several Counties, as he thought fit.

*Orders
Lambert
to follow the
King with a
Body of
Horse.*

He gave *Lambert* Order, " immediately to follow the King " with seven or eight hundred Horse, and to draw as many " others, as he could, from the Country Militia ; and to dis- " turb his Majesty's march the most he could, by being near, " and obliging him to march close ; not engaging his own " Party in any sharp Actions, without a very notorious advan- " tage ; but to keep himself entire till he should come up to " him. With this Order *Lambert* marched away the same day the Advertisement came.

*Leaves
Monk in
Scotland.*

CROMWELL resolv'd then to leave Major General *Monk*, upon whom he look'd with most confidence, as an excellent Officer of Foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong Party of Foot, and some Troops of Horse, strong enough to suppress any Forces which should rise after his departure, " to " keep *Edenborough*, and the Harbour of *Lieth* ; to surprize " and apprehend as many of the Nobility, and considerable " Gentry, as he should suspect, and keep them under custo- " dy ; to use the highest severity against all who oppos'd him ; " and, above all, not to endure or permit the Licence of the " Preachers in their Pulpits ; and to make himself as formid- " able as was possible : in the last place, that, as soon as there " appear'd no visible force in the Field, he should besiege *Ster- " lin* ; whither most Persons of condition were retired with their Goods of Value, as to a place of strength, and capable of being defended ; where the Records of the Kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited ; it being the place where the King had, for the most part, resided. He charg'd him, " if at *St Johnston's*, or any other place, he " found a stubborn resistance, and were forced to spend much " time, or to take it by Storm, that he should give no Quar- " ter, nor exempt it from a general Plunder ; all which Rules *Monk* observ'd with the utmost rigour ; and made himself as terrible as Man could be.

WHEN *Cromwell* had dispatch'd all these Orders and Direc-
tions,

ations, with marvellous Expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree, he begun his own March with the remainder of his Army, three days after the King was gone, *And followi* with a wonderful chearfulness, and assurance to the Officers *the King* and Soldiers, that he should obtain a full Victory in *England* *three days* over those who fled from him out of *Scotland*. *after.*

THE King had, from the time that he had recover'd any Authority in *Scotland*, granted a Commission to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to raise a Regiment of Horse which *Massey* was to command under him, and to raise another Regiment of Foot. And the *English* which should resort thither, of which they expected great Numbers, were to Lift themselves in those Regiments. And there were some who had Lifted themselves accordingly; but the discipline the *Scots* had used to the King, and their adhering to their old Principles, even after they seem'd united for his Majesty, had kept the King's friends in *England* from repairing to them in *Scotland*. They who came from *Holland* with the King, had disposed themselves as is said before, and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the King should enter *England*, those two Regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of *Buckingham* had lost much ground (and the more because the King was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of Friendship with Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lantherdale* (to whom he had professed so much) and had enter'd into so fast a conjunction with the Marquis of *Argyle*, their declar'd irreconcilable Enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. *Massey* had got a great Name by his defending *Glocester* against the late King, and was look'd upon as a Martyr for the Presbyterian Interest, and so very dear to that Party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of *England*, he was sent with some Troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the Army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the Gentry of the Counties through which he pass'd, to be ready to attend upon his Majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the Presbyterians of *Lancashire*; whom no Body imagin'd to be of the *Scotish* temper, or unwilling to unite and joy'n with the Royal Party; nor indeed were they.

BUT it was fatal at that time to all *Scotish* Armies, to have always in them a Committee of Ministers, who ruin'd all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to choose such Men for that Service as had the reputation of being the most Sober, and Moderate of that whole Body, and who had shew'd more Affection, and advanced the King's Service more than the rest; yet this moderate People no

sooner heard that *Maffey* was sent before to call upon their Friends, and observ'd that, from the entrance into *England*, those about the King seem'd to have less regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they sent an Express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the King, with Letters, and a Declaration, wherein they requir'd him "to publish that Declaration, which signified the King's, and the whole Army's Zeal for the Covenant, and their Resolution "to prosecute the true intent of it; and forbid him "to receive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, but those "who would subscribe that obligation. The King had soon notice of this, and lost no time in sending to *Maffey* "not to publish any such Declaration, and to behave himself with "equal civility towards all Men who were forward to serve "his Majesty. But before this inhibition was receiv'd, the matter had taken Air in all places, and was spread over the Kingdom; all Men fled from their Houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the King very well; and besides, his Motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of Derby met the King in Lancashire.

Lambert follows, but is forced to retire.

IN *Lancashire* the Earl of *Derby* met him; who, as soon as he receiv'd his Summons, left the Isle of *Man*. When the King's Army came about *Warrington* in *Cheshire*, they found, that there was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in a fair Field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was *Lambert*; who had made so much haste, that he had that day fallen upon some of their Troops, and beaten them into the Army; but when the Army came up, *Lambert*, according to his Order and purpose, retir'd, and, being pursued by the King's Horse with a greater party, made more haste than a well order'd retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This Success made a great noise, as if *Lambert* had been defeated.

At Warrington the Earl of Derby parts from the King, and is sent to Lancashire with other Officers to raise Forces.

AT *Warrington* it was thought Counsellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of *Derby*, with the Lord *Withrington*, and several other Officers of good Name, should return into *Lancashire*, in order to raise the well affected in those two Counties of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that *Cromwell* was to follow, who was enter'd into *Tork-shire*, the remaining of those Persons there, was thought a good Expedient to gather a Body of *Engliss*, which the King extremely desir'd: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the Army. In order to which, the Earl had a Body of near two hundred Horse, consisting, for the most part, of Officers, and Gentlemen; which depriv'd the Army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards

terwards acknowledged to be a Counsel too suddenly enter'd upon.

UPON appearance of that Body of *Lambert's*, the whole Army was drawn up, and appear'd very chearful. The King having observ'd *David Lesley*, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the Enemy retir'd, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good Retreat used to be made, slow in giving Orders, and residing by himself, his Majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, "how he could be sad, when he was in the Head of so brave an Army? (which he said look'd well that day) and demanded of him, "How he liked them? To which *David Lesley* answer'd him in his Ear, being at some distance from any other, "that he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew "that Army, how well soever it look'd, would not Fight: which the King imputed to the chagrin of his Humour, and gave it no Credit, nor told it to any Man, till some years after, upon another occasion which will be remember'd in it's place, he told the Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue *Lambert*; who, being known to be a Man of Courage and Conduct, and his Troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly a Retreat, to have only design'd to have drawn the Army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolv'd to continue with the same Expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; untill they should come to such a Post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continu'd it even to *London*; which would have produced wonderful Effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both Horse and Foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: The weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of *August*; so that if they had not some rest before an Enemy approach'd them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to Fight.

THERE was a small Garrison in *Shrewsbury* Commanded by a Gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevail'd with to give it up to the King; but his Majesty sending to him, he return'd a rude denial: So that his Majesty's Eye was upon *Worcester*; that was so little out of his way to *London*, that the going thither would not much retard the march, if they found the Army able to continue it. *Worcester* had always been a place very well affected in it self, and most of the Gentlemen of that Country had been engaged for the King in the former War, and the City was the last that had Surrender'd to the Parliament, of all those which had been Garrison'd for his Majesty; when all the Works were thrown down, and no

*The King
marches to
Worcester.*

*where he is
proclaimed.*

Garrison from that time had been kept there; the Sheriff, and Justices, and Committees, having had power enough to defend it against any malignity of the Town, or County; and at this time, all the principal Gentry of that County had been seiz'd upon, and were now Prisoners there. Thither the King came with his Army even as soon as they had heard that he was in *England*: whereupon the Committee, and all those who were employ'd by the Parliament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving their Prisoners behind them, lest they themselves should become Prisoners to them; and the City open'd their Gates, and receiv'd the King, with all the demonstration of Affection and Duty that could be express'd; and made such provision for the Army, that it wanted nothing it could desire; the Mayor taking care for the present provision of Shoes and Stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal Persons of the Country found themselves at liberty; and They, and the Mayor and Aldermen, with all the Solemnity they could prepare, attended the Herald, who proclaim'd the King, as he had done, in more haste, and with less Formality, in all those considerable Towns through which his Majesty had pass'd.

THE Army liked their Quarters here so well, that neither Officer, nor Soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be thoroughly refresh'd: And it could not be deny'd that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred Miles been march'd in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach *London*, though it had been better prepar'd for the King's reception than it appear'd to be, before *Cromwell* would be there: who, having with great haste continu'd his march in a direct Line, was now as near to it as the King's Army was, and stood only at a gaze to be inform'd what his Majesty meant to do. *Worcester* was a very good Post, seated almost in the middle of the Kingdom, and in as fruitful a Country as any part of it; a good City, serv'd by the noble River of *Severn* from all the adjacent Counties; *Wales* behind it, from whence Levies might be made of great Numbers of stout Men: It was a place where the King's Friends might repair, if they had the Affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the Enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compell'd to engage his Army in a Battle, till *Cromwell* had gotten Men enough to encompass him on all sides: And then the King might choose on which side to Fight, since the Enemy must be on both

both sides the River, and could not come suddenly to relieve each other, and the straitning the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several Insurrections in the Kingdom, if they were so weary of the present Tyranny, and so solicitous to be restor'd to the King's Government, as they were conceiv'd to be: For no Body could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their Loyalty, than when the King was in the heart of the Kingdom, with a form'd Army of about fifteen thousand Men, Horse, and Foot (for so they might be accounted to be) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppress'd by a more powerful Party. These considerations produced the Resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect *Cromwell* there; and a hope that he might be delay'd by other diversions: And there was like to be time enough to cast up such Works upon the Hill before the Town, as might keep the Enemy at a distance, and their own Quarters from being suddenly streighten'd: All which were recommended to General *Lesley* to take care of, and to take such a perfect view of the Ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time requir'd it.

THE first ill Omen that happen'd, was the News of the defeat of the Earl of *Derby*, and the total destruction of those gallant Persons who accompanied him. The Earl of *Derby*, of *Le* within two or three days after he had left the King, with a Body of near two hundred Horse, all gallant Men, imploy'd his Servants, and Tenants, to give the Country notice of his staying behind the King, to Head and Command those Persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his Majesty made through the Country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the People, he went to a little Market Town, call'd *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, where he staid that Night; when in the Morning a Regiment or two of the Militia of the Neighbour Counties, and some other Troops of the Army, Commanded by a Man of Courage, whom *Cromwell* had sent to follow in the track of the King's march, to gather up the Straglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the Army, having receiv'd some Advertisement that a Troop of the King's Horse were behind the Army in that Town, fell very early into it, before the Persons in the Town were out of their Beds, having assurance, upon all the enquiry they could make, that there was no Enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any suspicion of those Forces, which consisted of the several Troops of the several Counties with others of the Army, and pass'd that way by accident. As many as could get to their Horses, presently Mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on

Foot, and all endeavour'd to keep the Enemy from entering into the Town; and the few who were got on Horseback, Charg'd them with great Courage. But the Number of the Enemy was too great, and the Town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. The Earl of *Derby*, after his Horse had been kill'd under him, made a shift to mount again; and so, with a small Party of Horse, through many difficulties and dangers, escaped wounded to the King to *Worcester*.

The Lord
Withring-
ton kill'd
upon the
place.

THE Lord *Withrington*, after he had receiv'd many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was kill'd upon the place; and so was *Sr Thomas Tildesley*, and many other gallant Gentlemen, very few escaping to carry News of the defeat. *Sr William Throgmorton*, who had been formerly Major General of the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, and was left to Command in the same function, receiv'd so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the Prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the Town, that, being believ'd to be dead, he was afterwards so well recover'd, though with great Maimes and loss of Blood, that he at last got himself Transported into *Holland*; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a Ghost, all Men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken Prisoners, of any Quality, were afterwards Sacrificed as a spectacle to the People, and Barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the Earl of *Derby*; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The Lord
Withring-
ton's Cha-
racter.

THE Lord *Withrington* was one of the most goodly Persons of that Age, being near the head higher than most tall Men, and a Gentleman of the best and most ancient Extraction of the County of *Northumberland*, and of a very fair Fortune, and one of the four which the last King made choice of to be about the Person of his Son the Prince as Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, when he first settled his Family. His Affection to the King was always remarkable; and serving in the House of Commons as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northumberland*, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most Malignant. As soon as the War broke out, he was of the first who rais'd both Horse and Foot at his own Charge, and serv'd eminently with them under the Marquis of *New-Castle*; with whom he had a very particular and entire Friendship. He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his Testimony that he had perform'd many signal Services, he was, about the middle of the War, made a Peer of

of the Kingdom. He was a Man of great Courage, but of some Passion, by which he incurr'd the ill Will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of Nature, which no Man was farther from; no Man of a Nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the House of Commons, and observ'd the dissingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceiv'd and coulen'd the People, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were coulen'd by them, and against all who had not his Zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and slegmatick Men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good Nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask Pardon of those who would not question him for it. He Transported himself into the parts beyond the Sea at the same time with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, to accompany him, and remain'd still with him till the King went into *Scotland*; and then waited upon his Majesty, and endured the same Affronts which others did, during the time of his Residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their Principles, and the disdain of their Treatment, produced that aversion from their Conversation, that prevail'd upon his impatience to part too soon from their Company, in hope that the Earl of *Derby*, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a Body of the Royal Party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that Nation. It was reported by the Enemy, that, in respect of his brave Person and behaviour, they did offer him Quarter; which he refused; and that they were thereby compell'd, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the Animosity the Parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the Earl of *Derby*; who had not more Enemies.

SIR *Thomas Tildesley* was a Gentleman of a good Family, and a good Fortune, who had rais'd Men at his own Charge at the beginning of the War, and had serv'd in the Command of them till the very end of it, with great Courage; and refusing to make any Composition after the Murther of the King, he found means to Transport himself into *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*; with whom he stay'd, till he was, with the rest of the *English* Officers, dismissed, to satisfy the barbarous Jealousy of the *Irish*; and then got over into *Scotland* a little before the King march'd from thence, and was desir'd by the Earl of *Derby* to remain with him. The Names of the other Persons of Quality who were kill'd in that Encounter, and those

And Sir
Thomas
Tildesley's.

who were taken Prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discover'd, and mention'd honourably, by any who shall propose to himself to communicate particularly those Transactions to the view of Posterity.

WHEN the News of this Defeat came to *Worcester*, as it did even almost as soon as the King came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general Rising of the People on his behalf. His Army was very little increased by the access of any *English*; and though he had passed near the habitation of many Persons of Honour and Quality, whose Affections and Loyalty had been eminent, not a Man of them repair'd to him. The sense of their former Sufferings remain'd, and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in *Worcester* for so many days add any resort to his Court. The Gentlemen of the Country whom his coming thither had redeem'd from Imprisonment, remain'd still with him, and were useful to him; they who were in their Houses in the Country, though as well affected, remain'd there, and came not to him; and though Letters from *London* had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appear'd, except only some few Gentlemen, and some Common Men who had formerly serv'd the last King, and repaired again to *Worcester*.

*Transactions
of the King
at Worcester.*

THERE were some other Accidents and Observations which administer'd matter of Mortification to the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* had a mind very restless, and thought he had not Credit enough with the King if it were not made manifest that he had more than any Body else: And therefore, as soon as the King had enter'd *England*, though he had reason to believe that his Majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in *Scotland*, he came to the King, and told him, "the business was now to reduce *England* to his Obedience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and popular in the Eyes of the Nation; and nothing could be less so, than that the Army should be under the Command of a *Scottish* General: That *David Lesley* was only Lieutenant General; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remain'd in *Scotland*, to have put any other to have Commanded over him; but that it would be as unreasonable, now they were in *England*, and had hope to increase the Army by the access of the *English*, upon whom his principal dependence must be, to expect that they would be willing to serve under *Lesley*: That it would not consist with the Honour of any Peer of *England* to receive his Orders; and, he believ'd, that very few of that Rank would repair to his Majesty, till they were secure from that apprehension; and used much more

more discourse to that purpose. The King was so much surpris'd with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "who it was that he thought fit his Majesty should give that Command to? when, to his astonishment, the Duke told him, "he hoped his Majesty would confer it upon himself. At which the King was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon some Body who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former Argument. The Duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renew'd his importunity; and told the King, "that, he was confident, what he had propos'd to him, was so evidently for his Service, that *David Lesley* himself would willingly consent to it. The King, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly believe that he was in earnest, or that he could in truth believe that he could be fit for such a Charge; which the Duke seem'd to wonder at, and asked, "wherein his unfitness lay; To which the King replied, "that he was too young: And he as readily alledg'd, "that *Harry* the Fourth of *France* Commanded an Army, and won a Battle, when he was younger than He: so that, in the end, the King was compell'd to tell him, "that he would have no Generalissimo but himself: upon which the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, neglected every Body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he scarce put on clean Linnen, nor convers'd with any Body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilst the Army stay'd at *Worcester*.

THERE was another worse Accident fell out soon after the King's coming thither: Major General *Massey*, who thought himself now in his own Territory; and that all between *Worcester* and *Glocester* would be quickly his own Conquest, knowing every step both by Land and the River, went out with a Party to secure a Pass, which the Enemy might make over the River; which he did very well; but would then make a farther in-road into the Country, and possess a House which was of small importance, and in which there were Men to defend it; where he receiv'd a very dangerous Wound, ^{General} that tore his Arme, and Hand, in such manner that he was in *Massey* great torment, and could not stir out of his Bed, in a time ^{wounded in an attempt.} when his Activity and Industry was most wanted. By this means, the Pass he had secured, was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care of.

THERE was no good understanding between the Officers ^{The ill disposition of the} of the Army: *David Lesley* appear'd dispirited, and confound- ^{King's Of-} ed; gave, and revoked his Orders, and sometimes contra- ^{dicted} dicted.

dicted them. He did not love *Middleton*, and was very jealous that all the Officers lov'd him too well; who was indeed an excellent Officer, and kept up the Spirits of the rest, who had no esteem of *Lesley*. In this very unhappy distemper was the Court, and the Army, in a Season when they were ready to be swallow'd by the power, and multitude of the Enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere Unity in their prayers to God, and a joynt concurrence in their Counsels and endeavours; in all which they were miserably divided.

THE King had been several days in *Worcester*, when *Cromwell* was known to be within less than half a day's march, with an addition of very many Regiments of Horse and Foot to those which he had brought with him from *Scotland*; and many other Regiments were drawing towards him of the Militia of the several Counties, under the command of the principal Gentlemen of their party in the Countries: so that he was already very much superior, if not double in Number to the Army the King had with him. However, if those Rules had been observ'd, those Works cast up, and that order in quartering their Men, as were resolv'd upon when the King came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the Advantages of the ground, the River, and the City, would have preserv'd them from being presently overrun. But, alas! the Army was in amazement and confusion. *Cromwell*, without troubling himself with the formality of a Siege, marched directly on as to a Prey, and possess'd the Hill and all other places of Advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of *September*, when the King having been upon his Horse most part of the Night, and having taken a full view of the Enemy, and every body being upon the Post they were appointed, and the Enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt then, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease; his Majesty, a little before Noon, retired to his Lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the Alarm came, "that both Armies were engaged; and though his Majesty's own Horse was ready at the door, and he presently mounted, before or as soon as he came out of the City, he met the whole Body of his Horse running in so great disorder, that he could not stop them, though he us'd all the means he could and called to many Officers by their Names; and hardly preserv'd himself, by letting them pass by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

CROMWELL had us'd none of the delay, nor circumspection which was imagin'd; but directed the Troops to fall on in all places at once; and had caus'd a strong Party to go over

The King's
defeat at
Worcester
3d of Sep-
tember.

over the River at the Pass, which *Massej* had formerly secured, at a good distance from the Town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the River, till they were even ready to charge the King's Troops. On that part where *Middleton* was, and with whom *Duke Hamilton* charged, there was a very brave resistance; and they charged the Enemy so vigorously, that they beat the Body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpower'd; and many Gentlemen being kill'd, and *Middleton* hurt, and *Duke Hamilton's* Leg broke with a Shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole Army, that the rest of the Horse fled, and all the Foot threw down their Arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the Town, he found a good Body of Horse, which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the Spur. The King desired those who staid, "that they would follow him, that they might look upon the Enemy, who, he believ'd, did not pursue them. But when his Majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the Horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few Servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the Gates of the Town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confusion; there were few to Command, and none to obey: so that the King staid, till very many of the Enemy's Horse were enter'd the Town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton fell into the Enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his Wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a Spectacle, as his Brother had been; which the Pride and Animosity of his Enemies would no doubt have caused to be, having the same pretence for it by his being a Peer of *England*, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much prefer'd before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning Man: for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's Master-piece. He had unquestionable courage: he was in truth a very accomplish'd Person, of an excellent Judgement, and clear and ready Expressions: and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable Actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any Inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very Article of his death, he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness, "that he had the honour to lose his life in the King's Service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions; which he always profess'd were odious to himself.

Duke Hamilton died of his wounds

His Character.

As

As the Victory cost the Enemy little blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the Prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away, were every day knocked in the head by the Country People, and used with barbarity. Towards the King's menial Servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

*The King's
Retreat, and
concealment.*

THOUGH the King could not get a Body of Horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from *Worcester*, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his Horse. There was *David Lesley* with all his own Equipage, as if he had not fled upon the suddain; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into *Scotland* it self. But there was paleness in every Man's looks, and jealousy, and confusion, in their faces; and scarce any thing could worse befall the King, than a return into *Scotland*; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the Night cover'd them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own Servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be Light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent Wood, and relied only upon Him for his preservation who alone could, and did Miraculously deliver him.

WHEN it was Morning, and the Troops, which had march'd all Night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each others company; and most of them who were *English* separated themselves, and went into other Roads; and wherever twenty Horse appear'd of the Country, which was now awake, and upon their Guard to stop and arrest the Runaways, the whole Body of the *Scottish* Horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves Prisoners to two Country Fellows: however, *David Lesley* reach'd *York-shire* with above fifteen hundred Horse in a Body. But the jealousies increas'd every day; and those of his own Country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by *Cromwell*; and the rest, who did not think so, believ'd him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his Cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one Morning with the principal Persons, which way they should take, some propos'd this, and others that way; *Sr William Armorer* ask'd him, "which way" he thought best? which when he had named, the other said "he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betray'd" the King and the Army all the time; and so left him.

W E L L

WELL nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongst them the Earl of *Lantherdale*, and many of the *Scottish* Nobility, and the Earls of *Cleveland* and *Derby*, and divers other Men of Quality of the *English* Nation. And it is hard to be believ'd how very few of that numerous Body of Horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the Foot escaped) return'd into *Scotland*. Upon all the enquiry that was made, when most of the false and treacherous Actions which had been committed were discover'd, there appear'd no cause to suspect that *David Lesley* had been unfaithful in his Charge: though he never recover'd any Reputation with those of his own Country who wedded the King's Interest. And it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his Imprisonment, he never receiv'd any favour from the Parliament, whom he had serv'd so long; nor from *Cromwell*, in whose Company he had serv'd; but underwent all the Severities, and long Imprisonment, the rest of his Country-men suffer'd. The King did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent Officer of Horse, to distribute and execute Orders, but in no degree capable of Commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amaz'd in that fatal day, that he perform'd not the Office of a General, or of any competent Officer.

THEY who fled out of *Worcester*, and were not kill'd, but made Prisoners, and all the Foot, and others who were taken in the Town, except some few Officers and Persons of Quality, were driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and there treated with great rigour; and many perish'd for want of food; and being inclosed in little room, till they were sold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of all diseases. *Cromwell* return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with universal Joy and Acclamation, as if he had destroy'd the Enemy of the Nation, and for ever secured the Liberty, and Happiness of the People: a price was set upon the King's Head, whose escape was thought to be impossible; and order taken for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and such other notorious Prisoners as they had Voted to destruction.

THE Earl of *Derby* was a Man of unquestionable Loyalty to the late King, and gave clear Testimony of it before he receiv'd any Obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself oblig'd by it. This King, in his first year, sent him the Garter; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that Honour made him so readily comply with the King's Command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the Undertaking, nor any inclination to the *Scots*; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the Crown, to be made Instruments

David Lesley and the rest taken.

the King's Foot driven Prisoners to London, and sold to the Plantations.

The Earl of Derby his Character and Exemption.

struments of repairing and restoring it. He was a Man of great Honour and clear Courage; and all his defects, and misfortunes, proceeded from his having liv'd so little time among his Equals, that he knew not how to treat his Inferiours; which was the Source of all the ill that befel him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from Persons of inferior Quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemn'd, that they pursued him to death. The King's Army was no sooner defeated at *Worcester*, but the Parliament renew'd their old Method of Murthering in cold Blood, and sent a Commission to erect a High Court of Justice to Persons of ordinary Quality, many not being Gentlemen, and all notoriously his Enemies, to Try the Earl of *Derby* for his Treason and Rebellion; which they easily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a Town of his own, against which he had expressed a severe displeasure for their obstinate Rebellion against the King, with all the circumstances of Rudeness and Barbarity they could invent. The same Night, one of those who was amongst his Judges, sent a Trumpet to the Isle of *Man* with a Letter directed to the Countess of *Derby*, by which he requir'd her "to deliver up the Castle and Island to the Parliament: Nor did their Malice abate, till they had reduced that Lady, a Woman of very high and Princely Extraction, being the Daughter of the Duke de *Tremouille* in *France*, and of the most exemplary Virtue and Piety of her time, and that whole most noble Family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the Fortune and Estate that should support it.

THEY of the King's Friends in *Flanders*, *France*, and *Holland*, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majesty in *Scotland*, were much exalted with the News of his being enter'd *England* with a Powerful Army, and being possessed of *Worcester*, which made all Men prepare to make hast thither. But they were confounded with the News of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the Person of the King, "of his being found amongst the dead; "of his being Prisoner; and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous Events. Many who had made escapes, arriv'd every day in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, but knew no more what was become of the King, than They did who had not been in *England*. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen him that Evening after the Battle, many Miles out of *Worcester*. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the *Hague* with his Sister, which was occasion'd by the arrival of the Duke of *Buckingham*

been in Holland; and it was thought good Policy to publish that the King himself was landed, that the Search after him in *England* might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the Sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all Honest Men during the whole Months of *September* and *October*, and part of *November*; in which Month his Majesty was known to be at *Roan*; where he made himself known, and stay'd some days to provide Cloaths; and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

It is great pity that there was never a Journal made of that Miraculous Deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate Hand of God. When the darkness of the Night was over, after the King had cast himself into that Wood, he discern'd another man, who had gotten upon an Oak in the same Wood, near the place where the King had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The Man upon the Tree had first seen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a Gentleman of the neighbour County of *Stafford-shire*, who had serv'd his late Majesty during the War, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the King after his coming to *Worcester*. His name was *Careless*, who had had a Command of Foot, about the degree of a Captain, under the Lord *Longborough*. He perswaded the King, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the Wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the Wood it self would probably be visited by those of the Country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make Prisoners, that he would get up into that Tree, where He had been; where the Boughs were so thick with leaves, that a Man would not be discover'd there without a narrower Enquiry than People usually make in places which they do not suspect. The King thought it good Counsel; and, with the others help, climb'd into the Tree; and then helped his Companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw Many who came purposely into the Wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the King himself if they could take him. This Wood was either in, or upon the Borders of *Stafford-shire*; and though there was a High-way near one side of it, where the King had enter'd into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it open'd amongst Inclosures, and *Careless* was not unacquainted with the Neighbour Villages, and it was part of the King's good Fortune, that this Gentleman by being a Roman Catholick, was acquainted with those of that Profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that

The King
came to
Roan in
November.

The particu-
lars of the
King's escape
as the Au-
thor had
them from
the King
himself.

The King
meets Cap-
tain Careless
in a wood,
who per-
suades him
to get up in-
to an Oak,

some of that Religion had a very great share in his Majesty's preservation.

*Thence he
came to a
Cottage nine
miles off,
where he lay
in a Barn.*

THE day being spent in the Tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had liv'd two Days with eating very little, and two Nights with as little sleep; so that, when the Night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolv'd, with the advice and assistance of his Companion, to leave his blessed Tree; and, when the Night was dark, they walk'd through the Wood into those Inclosures which were farthest from any High-way, and making a shift to get over Hedges and Ditches, after walking at least eight or nine Miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his Boots (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of Shooes) before Morning they came to a poor Cottage, the Owner whereof being a Roman Catholick was known to *Careless*. He was call'd up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little Barn, full of Hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferr'd with their Host of the news and temper of the Country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they stay'd together; and therefore that *Careless* should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest Man to the King, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his Majesty should stay upon the Hay-mow. The poor Man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good Butter-milk; and so he was once more left alone, his Companion, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor Man of the House knowing no more, than that he was a Friend of the Captain's, and one of those who had escaped from *Worcester*. The King slept very well in his lodging, till the time that his Host brought him a piece of Bread, and a great Pot of Butter-milk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor Man spoke very intelligently to him of the Country, and of the People who were well or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear, and terror, that possess'd the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him, "that he himself liv'd by his daily Labour, and that what he had brought him was the Fare he and his Wife had; and that he fear'd, if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, and People might be apt to think he had some body with him that was not of his own Family. However, if he would have him get some Meat, he would do it; but if he could bear this hard Diet, he should have enough of the Milk, and some of the Butter that was made with it. The King was

satisfied

satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of Diet; desir'd only the Man, "that he might have "his Company as often; and as much as he could give it him; there being the same reasons against the poor Man's discontinuing his Labour, as the alteration of his Fare.

AFTER he had rested upon this Hay-mow, and fed upon this Diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another Fellow, a little above the condition of his Host, came to the House, sent from *Carless*, to conduct the King to another House, more out of any Road near which any part of the Army was like to march: It was above twelve Miles that he was to go, and was to use the same caution he had done the first Night, not to go in any common Road; which his Guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dressed himself, changing Cloaths with his Landlord; he had a great mind to have kept his own Shirt, but he consider'd, that Men are not sooner discover'd by any mark in disguises, than by having fine Linen in ill Cloaths; and so he parted with his Shirt too, and took the same his poor Host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his Boots, and his Landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of Shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this Equipage he set out from his first Lodging in the beginning of the Night, under the conduct of this Guide; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over Hedges and Ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffer'd to rest, before purchasing his Safety at that price. His Shoes had, after a few Miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill Stockings, which were quickly worn out; and his Feet, with the Thorns in getting over Hedges, and with the Stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate Resolution to rest there till the Morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout Guide still prevail'd with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this distress and perplexity, before the Morning, they arriv'd at the House design'd; which though it was better than that which he had left, his Lodging was still in the Barn, upon Straw instead of Hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a Guest could dispose it. Here he had such Meat and Porridge as such People use

Thence he is conducted to another House 12 miles off:

Thence to another; and so to others.

to have; with which, but especially with the Butter and the Cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, Shoes and Stockings: and after his Feet were enough recover'd that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor House, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was design'd was only by shifting from one House to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that Quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman Catholicks than most other parts in *England*, he was led from one to another of that Perswasion, and conceal'd with great Fidelity. But he then observ'd that he was never carried to any Gentleman's House, though that Country was full of them, but only to poor Houses of poor Men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better Houses, in regard of the resort, and the many Servants; or whether the Owners of great Estates, were the Owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Mr Hudleston sent to him by Careless; who brought him to the Lord Wilmot.

WITHIN few days a very honest and discreet Person, one *Mr Hudleston*, a Benedictine Monk, who attended the Service of the Roman Catholicks in those parts, came to him, sent by *Careless*; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him, were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a Horse, and more proper Habit than the Rags he wore. This Man told him, "that the Lord *Wilmot* lay conceal'd likewise in a Friend's House of his; which his Majesty was very glad of; and wished him to contrive some means, how they might speak together; which the other easily did; and, within a Night or two, brought them into one place. *Wilmot* told the King "that he had by very good Fortune, fallen into the House "of an honest Gentleman, one *Mr Lane*, a Person of an excellent Reputation for his Fidelity to the King, but of so "universal and general a good Name, that, though he had a Son, "who had been a Colonel in the King's Service, during the "late War, and was then upon his way with Men to *Worcester* the very day of the defeat, Men of all Affections in the "Country, and of all Opinions, paid the old Man a very great "respect: that he had been very civilly treated there; and "that the old Gentleman had used some diligence to find out "where the King was, that he might get him to his House; "where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he might "contrive a full deliverance. He told him, "he had with- "drawn from that House, in hope that he might, in some "other place, discover where his Majesty was, and having now "happily

"happily found him, advised him to repair to that House, which stood not near any other.

THE King enquired of the Monk of the reputation of this Gentleman; who told him, "that he had a fair Estate; was "exceedingly belov'd; and the eldest Justice of Peace of that "County of *Stafford*; and though he was a very zealous "Protestant, yet he liv'd with so much civility and candour "towards the Catholicks, that they would all trust him, as "much as they would do any of their own Profession; and "that he could not think of any place of so good repose and security for his Majesty's repair to. The King liked the Proposition, yet thought not fit to surprise the Gentleman; but *sent Wilmot* thither again, to assure himself that he might be receiv'd there; and was willing that he should know what Guest he receiv'd; which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the Houses where he had yet been, knew, or seem'd to suspect more than that he was one of the King's Party that fled from *Worcester*. The Monk carried him to a House at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an Account from the Lord *Wilmot*; who return'd very punctually, with as much assurance of wellcome as he could wish. And so they two went together to Mr *Lane's* House; where the King found he was wellcome, and conveniently accommodated in such places, as in a large House had been provided to conceal the Persons of Malignants, or to preserve goods of value from being plunder'd. Here he lodg'd, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in present safety. *Wilmot* return'd under the care of the Monk, and expected Summons, when any farther motion should be thought to be necessary.

The King brought by him to Mr Lane's House.

IN this station the King remain'd in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general conformation the Kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his Person might fall into the hands of his Enemies, and of the great diligence they used to enquire for him. He saw the Proclamation that was issued out and printed; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any Man who would deliver and discover the Person of *Charles Stuart*, and the penalty of High Treason declared against those who presum'd to harbour or conceal him: By which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might get near the Sea, from whence he might find some means to Transport himself: And he was now near the middle of the Kingdom, saving that it was a little more Northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the Ports, and with that Coast. In the West he was best acquainted, and that Coast was most

proper to Transport him into *France*; to which he was inclin'd. Upon this matter he Communicated with those of this Family to whom he was known, that is, with the old Gentleman the Father, a very grave and venerable Person, the Colonel his Eldest Son, a very plain Man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless Courage, and an Integrity superior to any temptation, and a Daughter of the House, of a very good Wit and Discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a Trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the Affections of all Men were almost as well known as their Faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad Seasons, in many Trials and Persecutions: So that Men knew not only the Minds of their next Neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their Friends, could choose fit Houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the Kingdom to another, without trusting the Hospitality of a Common Inn: And Men were very rarely deceiv'd in their confidence upon such occasions, but the Persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another House of the same Affection.

Mr LANE had a Niece, or very near Kinswoman, who was Married to a Gentleman, one Mr Norton, a Person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who liv'd within four or five Miles of *Bristol*, which was at least four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place most to be wish'd for the King to be in, because he did not only know all that Country very well, but knew many Persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary Case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolv'd, that Mrs Lane should visit this Cousin, who was known to be of good affections: and that she should ride behind the King; who was fitted with Cloaths and Boots for such a Service; and that a Servant of her Father's, in his Livery, should wait upon her. A good House was easily pitch'd upon for the first night's Lodging; where *Wilmot* had notice given him to meet. And in this Equipage the King begun his journey; the Colonel keeping him Company at a distance, with a Hawk upon his Fist, and two or three Spaniels; which, where there were any Fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his Company still in his Eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first Night's Lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journeys end about the close of the Evening, for it was in the Month of *October* far advanced, that the long journeys they made could not be dispatch'd sooner. Here the Lord *Wilmot* found them; and their journeys being then adjusted, he was instructed where he

Here it was
resolv'd the
King should
go to Mr
Norton's;
riding before
Mrs Lane.

he should be every Night: so they were seldom seen together in the Journey, and rarely lodged in the same House at Night. In this manner the Colonel Hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a days Journey of Mr Norton's House; and then he gave his Hawk to the Lord Wilmot; who continued the Journey in the same Exercise.

THERE was great care taken when they came to any House, that the King might be presently carried into some Chamber; Mrs Lane declaring "that he was a Neighbour's Son, whom his Father had lent her to ride before her, in "hope that he would the sooner recover from a Quartan Ague, "with which he had been miserably afflicted, and was not "yet free. And by this Artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried her self, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr Norton's, nor any thing extraordinary that happen'd in the way, save that they met many People every day in the way, who were very well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr Norton's, they were necessarily to ride quite through the City of Bristol; a Place, and People, the King had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his Eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: And when he rode near the place where the great Fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his Horse out of the way, and rode with his Mistress behind him round about it.

THEY came to Mr Norton's House sooner than usual, and it being on a Holy-day, they saw many People about a Bowling-Green that was before the door, and the first Man the King saw was a Chaplain of his own, who was ally'd to the Gentleman of the House, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the Bowlers play'd. William, by which name the King went, walk'd with his Horse into the Stable, until his Mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs Lane was very wellcome to her Cousin, and was presently conducted to her Chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of "a "good Youth, who came with her, and whom she had borrow'd of his Father to ride before her, who was very sick, "being newly recover'd of an Ague; and desired her Cousin, "that a Chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire "made: For that he would go early to Bed, and was not fit to "be below stairs. A pretty little Chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a Boy sent into the Stable to call William, and to shew him his Chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much Company as was below. Mrs Lane was put to find some excuse for making a visit at

that time of the year, and so many days Journey from her Father, and where she had never been before, though the Mistress of the House and she had been bred together, and Friends as well as Kindred. She pretended "that she was, after a little rest, to go into *Dorset-shire* to another Friend. When it was Supper time, there being Broath brought to the Table, *Mrs Lane* fill'd a little dish, and desired the Butler, who waited at the Table, "to carry that dish of Porridge to *William*, "and to tell him that he should have some Meat sent to him "presently. The Butler carried the Porridge into the Chamber with a Napkin, and Spoon, and Bread, and spoke kindly to the young Man; who was willing to be eating.

The King is known to the Butler of the House. THE Butler looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his Majesty. The King was infinitely surpris'd, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the Man, and to ask him "what "he meant? The Man had been Falconer to *Sr Thomas Jermyns*, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the King had not forgot. Whereupon the King conjur'd him "not to speak of "what he knew, so much as to his Master, though he believ'd "him a very honest Man. The Fellow promised, and kept his word; and the King was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr GORGES, the King's Chaplain, being a Gentleman of a good Family near that place, and ally'd to *Mr Norton*, supped with them, and being a Man of a cheerful Conversation, ask'd *Mrs Lane* many questions concerning *William*, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up Meat to him "how long "his Ague had been gone? and whether he had purged since "it left him? and the like; to which she gave such Answers as occur'd. The Doctor, from the final prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of that Function had done, declined his Profession, and pretended to study Physick. As soon as Supper was done, out of good Nature, and without telling any Body, he went to see *William*. The King saw him coming into the Chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the Bed, that he might be farthest from the Candle, and the Doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his Pulse, and ask'd him many questions, which he answer'd in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his Bed; to which the Doctor left him, and went to *Mrs Lane*, and told her, "that he had been with *William*, and that he would do "well; and advis'd her, what she should do if his Ague return'd. The next Morning, the Doctor went away, so that the King saw him no more. The next day the Lord *Wilmot* came to the House with his Hawk, to see *Mrs Lane*, and to conferr'd

conferr'd with *William*; who was to consider what he was to do. They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they were inform'd what Port lay most convenient for them, and what Person liv'd nearest to it, upon whose Fidelity they might rely: And the King gave him directions to enquire after some Persons, and some other particulars, of which when he should be fully instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean time, *Wilmet* lodged at a House not far from *Mr Norton's*, to which he had been recommended.

AFTER some days stay here, and Communication between the King and the Lord *Wilmet* by Letters, the King came to know that Colonel *Francis Windham* liv'd within little more than a days Journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the Inclination he had to his elder Brother, whose Wife had been his Nurse, this Gentleman had behaved himself very well during the War, and had been Governour of *Dunbar* Castle, where the King had lodged when he was in the West. After the end of the War, and when all other places were Surrender'd in that County, He likewise Surrender'd That, upon fair Conditions, and made his Peace, and afterwards Married a Wife with a competent Fortune, and liv'd quietly, without any suspicion of having less'n'd his affection towards the King.

THE King sent *Wilmet* to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly speak with him. It was not hard for him to choose a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the King had taken his leave of *Mrs Lane*, who remain'd with her Cousin *Norton*, the King, and the Lord *Wilmet*, met the Colonel; and, in the way, he met in a Town, through which they pass'd, *Mr Kirton*, a Servant of the King's, who well knew the Lord *Wilmet*, who had no other disguise than the Hawk, but took no notice of him, nor suspected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his Company upon the Way. At the place of meeting, they rested only one Night, and then the King went to the Colonel's House; where he rested many days, whilst the Colonel projected at what place the King might Embark, and how they might procure a Vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any Vessel that was outward bound to take in any Passenger.

The King goes to Colonel Francis Windham's House.

THERE was a Gentleman, one *Mr Ellison*, who liv'd near *Lyms* in *Dorset-shire*, and was well known to Colonel *Windham*, having been a Captain in the King's Army, and was still looked upon as a very honest Man. With him the Colonel consulted, how they might get a Vessel to be ready to take in a couple

couple of Gentlemen, Friends of his, who were indanger to be Arrested, and Transport them into *France*. Though no Man would ask who the Persons were, yet it could not but be suspected who they were, at least they concluded, that it was some of *Worcester* Party. *Lyme* was generally as malicious and disaffected a Town to the King's Interest, as any Town in *England* could be: yet there was in it a Master of a Bark, of whose honesty this Captain was very confident. This Man was lately return'd from *France*, and had unladen his Vessel, when *Ellison* asked him, "when he would make another Voyage? And he answer'd, "as soon as he could get Lading for his Ship. The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry over a "couple of Gentlemen, and Land them in *France*, if he might "be as well paid for his Voyage as he used to be when he was "freighted by the Merchants. In conclusion, he told him, "he should receive fifty pounds for his Fare: The large recompence had that effect, that the Man undertook it; though he said "he must make his provision very secretly; for that he "might be well suspected for going to Sea again without being freighted, after he was so newly return'd. Colonel *Windham*, being advertised of this, came together with the Lord *Wilmot* to the Captain's House, from whence the Lord and the Captain rid to a House near *Lyme*; where the Master of the Bark met them; and the Lord *Wilmot* being satisfied with the discourse of the Man, and his wariness in foreseeing suspicions, which would arise, it was resolv'd that on such a Night, which, upon consideration of the Tydes, was agreed upon, the Man should draw out his Vessel from the Peer, and, being at Sea, should come to such a point about a Mile from the Town, where his Ship should remain upon the Beach when the Water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next Morning. There was very near that Point, even in the view of it, a small Inn, kept by a Man who was reputed honest, to which the Cavaliers of the Country often resorted; and *London* Road passed that way; so that it was seldom without Company. Into that Inn the two Gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the Night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the Master, the Lord *Wilmot* and the Colonel return'd to the Colonel's House, above a days Journey from the place, the Captain undertaking every day to look that the Master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the Colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the King should be the day before he was to Embark.

THE King, being satisfied with these preparations, came, at the time appointed, to that House where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he receiv'd assurance from the Captain; who found that the Man had honestly put his Provisions on Board, and had his Company ready, which were but four Men; and that the Vessel should be drawn out that Night: So that it was fit for the two Persons to come to the aforesaid Inn, and the Captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own House, not distant a Mile from it; the Colonel remaining still at the House where they had lodged the Night before, till he might hear the news of their being Embarked.

THEY found many Passengers in the Inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary Chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appear'd any light, *Wilnot* went out to discover the Bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the Sun arose, and nothing like a Ship in view. They sent to the Captain, who was as much amaz'd; and He sent to the Town; and his Servant could not find the Master of the Bark, which was still in the Peer. They suspected the Captain, and the Captain suspected the Master. However, it being past ten of the Clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their Horses again to return to the House where they had left the Colonel, who, they knew, resolv'd to stay there till he were assur'd that they were gone.

THE truth of the disappointment was this; the Man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the Night he was to go out with his Vessel, he had stay'd in his own House, and slept two or three hours, and the time of the Tyde being come, that it was necessary to be on Board, he took out of a Cupboard some Linen, and other things, which he us'd to carry with him to Sea. His Wife had observ'd, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he us'd to be, and that he had been speaking with Sea-men, who us'd to go with him, and that some of them had carried Provisions on Board the Bark; of which she had ask'd her Husband the reason; who had told her, "that he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would make all things ready. She was sure that there was yet no lading in the Ship, and therefore, when she saw her Husband take all those Materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to Sea, and it being late in the Night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his House. He told her, "he must go, and was engaged to go to Sea that Night; for which he should be well paid. His Wife told him, "she was sure he was doing somewhat that would undo him, and
"she

Thence he is brought to an Inn near Lyme; and a Ship hired by Captain Ellison.

The Ship sail'd by an accident; and the King left the Inn.

“he was resolv’d he should not go out of his House; and if
 “he should persist in it, he would tell the Neighbours, and
 “carry him before the Mayor to be examin’d, that the truth
 “might be found out. The poor Man, thus Master’d by the
 passion and violence of his Wife, was forced to yield to
 her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into
 his bed.

*Like to be
 discover’d by
 a Smith
 shoeing their
 Horses.*

AND it was very happy that the King’s jealousy hasten’d
 him from that Inn. It was the solemn Fast Day, which was
 observ’d in those times principally to enflame the People against
 the King, and all those who were Loyal to him, and there
 was a Chapel in that Village over against that Inn, where a
 Weaver, who had been a Soldier, us’d to Preach, and utter
 all the Villainy imaginable against the old Order of Govern-
 ment: and he was then in the Chapel Preaching to his Con-
 gregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the
 People “that *Charles Stuart* was lurking somewhere in that
 “Country, and that they would merit from God Almighty,
 “if they could find him out. The Passengers, who had lodg’d
 in the Inn that Night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a
 Smith to visit their Horses, it being a hard Frost. The Smith,
 when he had done what he was sent for, according to the
 custom of that People, examin’d the feet of the other two
 Horses to find more work. When he had observ’d them,
 he told the Host of the House, “that one of those Horses
 “had travell’d far; and that he was sure that his four Shooes
 “had been made in four several Counties; which, whether
 his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The
 Smith going to the Sermon told this story to some of his
 Neighbours; and so it came to the Ears of the Preacher,
 when his Sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an Of-
 ficer, and search’d the Inn, and enquir’d for those Horses; and
 being inform’d that they were gone, he caus’d Horses to be
 sent to follow them, and to make enquiry after the two Men
 who rid those Horses, and positively declar’d “that one of
 “them was *Charles Stuart*.

*The King
 goes back to
 the Colonel’s
 Hou’s.*

WHEN they came again to the Colonel, they presently
 concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those
 parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a Ship upon that
 Coast; and without any farther delay, they rode back to the
 Colonel’s House; where they arriv’d in the Night. Then
 they resolv’d to make their next attempt in *Hampshire*, and
Suffex, where Colonel *Windham* had no Interest. They must
 pass through all *Wiltshire* before they came thither; which
 would require many days Journey: and they were first to con-
 sider what honest Houses there were in or near the way,
 where they might securely repose; and it was thought very
 dangerous

dangerous for the King to ride through any great Town, as *Salisbury*, or *Winchester*, which might probably lie in their way.

THERE was between that and *Salisbury* a very honest Gentleman, Colonel *Robert Philips*, a younger Brother of a very good Family, which had always been very Loyal; and he had serv'd the King during the War. The King was resolv'd to trust him; and so sent the Lord *Wilmot* to a place The King sends Wilmot for Robert Philips. from whence he might send to Mr *Philips* to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr *Philips* should come to the King, and *Wilmot* was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr *Philips* accordingly came to the Colonel's House; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly ally'd. The ways were very full of Soldiers; which were sent now from the Army to their Quarters, and many Regiments of Horse and Foot were assign'd for the West; of which division *Desborough* was Commander in chief. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old Security of taking a Woman behind him, a Kinswoman of Colonel *Windham*, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from *Salisbury*; to which Colonel *Philips* conducted him. In this Journey he passed through the middle of a Regiment of Horse; and, presently after, met *Desborough* walking down a Hill with three or four Men with him; who had lodged in *Salisbury* the night before; all that Road being full of Soldiers.

THE next day, upon the Plains, Dr *Hinchman*, one of the Prebends of *Salisbury*, met the King, the Lord *Wilmot* and *Philips* then leaving him to go to the Sea Coast to find a Vessel, the Dr conducting the King to a place called *Heale*, three miles from *Salisbury*, belonging then to Serjeant *Hyde*, who was afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the Widow of his elder Brother; a House that stood alone from Neighbours, and from any high-way; where coming in late in the Evening, he sup'd with some Gentlemen who accidentally were in the House; which could not well be avoided. But, the next Morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his Journey; and the Widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her Guest, sent her Servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, receiv'd him again, and accommodated him in a little Room, which had been made since the beginning of the Troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the Seat always belonging to a Malignant Family.

HERE he lay conceal'd, without the knowledge of some Gentlemen, who liv'd in the House, and of others who daily resorted

Thence to a
house in Suf-
sex near
Bright-
hemsted;
where a Bark
was provided
by Colonel
Gunter.
He arrives in
Normandy
in a small
Creek in
Novemb.

resorted thither, for many days, the Widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such Letters as the Doctor receiv'd from the Lord *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Philips*. A Vessel being at last provided upon the Coast of *Sussex*, and notice thereof sent to Dr *Hinchman*, he sent to the King to meet him at *Stone-benge* upon the Plains three miles from *Heale*; whither the Widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where Colonel *Philips* receiv'd him. He, the next day, deliver'd him to the Lord *Wilmot*; who went with him to a House in *Sussex*, recommended by Colonel *Gunter*, a Gentleman of that Country, who had serv'd the King in the War; who met him there; and had provided a little Bark at *Bright-hemsted*, a small Fisher Town; where he went early on Board, and, by God's Blessing, arriv'd safely in *Normandy*.

THE Earl of *Southampton*, who was then at his House at *Titchfield* in *Hampshire*, had been advertis'd of the King's being in the West, and of his missing his passage at *Lyme*, and sent a trusty Gentleman to those faithful Persons in the Country, who, he thought, were most like to be employ'd for his Escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "that he had a Ship ready, and if the King came to him, he should be safe; which advertisement came to the King the Night before he Embarked, and when his Vessel was ready. But his Majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only Person of that Condition, who had the Courage to sollicite such danger, though all good Men heartily wished his deliverance. It was in *November*, that the King landed in *Normandy*, in a small Creek; from whence he got to *Roan*, and then gave notice to the Queen of his arrival, and freed his Loyal Subjects in all places from their dismal Apprehensions.

THOUGH this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the Person of the King, was an Argument of general Joy and Comfort to all his good Subjects, and a new seed of hope for future Blessings, yet his present Condition was very deplorable. *France* was not at all pleas'd with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his Mother was very glad of his Escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his Support; they who had Interest with her, finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited Expence. Besides, the distraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her Pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her Servants, and for the very Provisions of her House; nor had the

King

King one shilling towards the Support of Himself, and his Family.

As soon as his Majesty came to *Paris*, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, he commanded *Symour*, who was of his Bed-Chamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr *Long*, the King's Secretary, who was at *Amsterdam*, and had been remov'd from his Attendance in *Scotland* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, writ to the Chancellor, "that he had receiv'd a Letter from the King, by which he was required to let all his Majesty's Servants who were in those parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them should repair to him to *Paris*, until they should receive farther order, since his Majesty could not yet resolve how long he should stay there: of which, Mr *Long* said, "he thought it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the Lord *Colepepper* and himself, who had resolv'd to have made hast thither, had in obedience to this command laid aside that purpose. The Chancellor concluded that this inhibition concern'd not Him, since he had receiv'd a command from the King to wait upon him. Besides, he had still the Character of Embassadour upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kissed his Majesty's hand. So he pursued his former purpose, and came to *Paris* in the *Christmas*, and found that the command to Mr *Long* had been procured with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there being some there who had no mind he should be with the King; though, when there was no remedy, the Queen receiv'd him graciously. But the King was very well pleas'd with his being come; and, for the first four or five days, he spent many hours with him in private, and inform'd him of very many particulars, of the harsh treatment he had receiv'd in *Scotland*, the reason of his march into *England*, the confusion at *Worcester*, and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For besides all those particulars which the King himself was pleas'd to Communicate to him, so soon after the Transactions of them, when they had made so lively an impression in his memory, and of which the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual Memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily conversation of the Lord *Wilmot*; who inform'd him of all he could remember: and sometimes the King and He recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's blest return into *England*, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the Escape; whereof some were of the Chancellor's nearest Alliance, and

Others

The King sends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to him in Christmas at Paris.

Where he receives from the King this Account of his Majesty's Deliverance.

others his most intimate Friends ; towards whom his Majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgement : so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity-whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no Diary made, indeed no exact Account of every Hour's adventure from the coming out of *Worcester*, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his Embarkation at *Bright-helmsted* ; in which there was such a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generosity, in Persons of the meanest and lowest extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious Jewel that was in their Custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an Action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who govern'd over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them ; and in those who did know him, of such Courage, Loyalty, and Activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his Power and Glory, and for the conviction of the whole Party, which had sinn'd so grievously ; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath render'd them the more inexcusable.

As the greatest Brunt of the danger was diverted by those poor People, in his Night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his Life, before he fell into the hands of Persons of better Quality, and places of more conveniency, so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some Ecclesiastical Persons of the Romish persuasion ; especially to those of the Order of *St Bennet* ; which was the reason that he expressed more favours, after his Restoration, to that Order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary Privileges about the Service of the Queen, not concealing the reason why he did so ; which ought to have satisfied all Men, that his Majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigour of the Laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a Fountain of Princely justice and gratitude, and of Royal bounty and clemency.

WHILST the Councils and Enterprises in *Scotland* and *England*, had this woeful issue, *Ireland* had no better Success in its Undertakings. *Cromwell* had made so great a Progress in his Conquests, before he left that Kingdom to visit *Scotland*, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable, and best inhabited Provinces, *Leinster*, and *Munster* ; and plainly discern'd, that what remain'd to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly, and perfidiousness of the *Irish* themselves ; who would save their Enemies a labour, in contributing

*The Affairs
of Ireland
at this time.*

tributing to, and hastning their own destruction. He had made the Bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into forreign Countries, by Levies and Transportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertain'd Agents, and Spies, as well Fryars, as others amongst the *Irish*, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt, and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof, and having put all things in this hopeful Method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the Halber than the Sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the Government of the Kingdom, to his Son in Law *Iretou*; Iretou made Lord Deputy by Cromwell. whom he made Deputy under him of *Ireland*: a Man, who knew the bottom of all his Counsels and Purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his Nature, and most inclined to pursue those Rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And He, without fighting a Battle, though he liv'd not many Months after, reduced most of the rest that *Cromwell* left unfinished.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* knew, and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the *Irish*, for the support of the King's Authority: yet there were many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry of the *Irish*, in whose Loyalty towards the King, and affection and Friendship towards his own Person, he had justly all confidence; and there were amongst the Romish Clergy some moderate Men, who did detest the savage ignorance of the rest: so that he entertain'd still some hope, that the Wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the King's Dignity and Authority, and that the wonderful Judgements of God, which were every day executed by *Iretou* upon the principal, and most obstinate Contrivers of their odious Rebellion, and who perversly and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the King; as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their Sottish Lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their Nation. For there was scarce a Man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the Rebellion, or whose barbarous Violation of the Peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the King's mercy, and left them only Subjects of his Justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by *Iretou*, and hanged with all the circumstances of Severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable Examples might be given.

THERE yet remain'd free from *Cromwell's* Yoke, the two large Provinces of *Connaught* and of *Ulster*, and the two strong Cities of *Limerick* and of *Galloway*, both Garrison'd with *Irish*, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good Port Towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majesty's Lieutenant. And there were still many good Regiments of Horse and Foot together under *Preston*, who seem'd to be ready to perform any Service the Marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humours, by Sacrificing somewhat of his Honour, and much of his Authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to *Ireton's* Career. O *Neile* at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had seen his bosome Friend, and sole Counsellor, the Bishop of *Clogher* (who had managed the Treaty with *Montk*, and was taken Prisoner upon the defeat of his Forces) hanged, drawn, and quarter'd as a Traytor, sent " to offer his Service " to the Marquis of *Ormond* with the Army under his Command, upon such conditions as the Marquis thought fit to send to him; and it was reasonably believ'd that he did intend very sincerely and would have done very good Service; for he was the best Soldier of the Nation, and had the most command over his Men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that Treaty produced no effect; for though many of his Army prosecuted his resolution, and joyn'd with the Marquis of *Ormond*, yet their Officers had little power over their Soldiers; who, being all of the old *Irish* Septs of *Ulster*, were entirely govern'd by the Fryars, and were shortly after prevail'd upon, either to Transport themselves, or to retire to their Boggs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of Persons or Interest.

Owen Row
O Neile di-
ed, as he was
going to joyn
with the
Marquis of
Ormond.

THE Marquis's Orders for drawing the Troops together to any Rendezvous, were totally neglected and disobey'd; and the Commissioner's Orders for the collection of Money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemn'd: so that such Regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolv'd for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the Fryars; as in the City of *Limerick*, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed several Companies to be drawn into the Market-place, to be employ'd upon a present Expedition, an Officer of good Affec-
tions,

otions, and thought to have much credit with his Soldiers brought with him two hundred very likely Soldiers well arm'd, and disciplin'd, and having receiv'd his Orders from the Marquis (who was upon the place) began to march; when a Franciscan Fryar in his habit, and with a Crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the Company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march: upon which they all threw down their Armes, and did as the Fryar directed them; who put the whole City into a Mutiny: inasmuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compell'd to go out of it, and not without some difficulty, escaped; though most of the Magistrates of the City did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the People to obedience; and some of them were kill'd, and many wounded in the Attempt. An Instance of those judgements from Heaven which we lately mention'd in general, Patrick Fanning, who with the Fryar had the principal part in that Sedition, the very next Night after *Ireton* was possess'd of that strong City, was apprehended, and the next day hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd. Such of the Commissioners who adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the King's Service, and to reduce their miserable Country-men from effecting, and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their Warrants and Summons neglected; when the others, who declin'd the Service, and desir'd to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

A Mutiny in Limerick, where the Marquis of Ormond escaped

They who appear'd, after the first misfortune before *Dublin*, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the People, were the Fryars, and some of their inferior Clergy. But now the titular Bishops, who had been all made at *Rome* since the beginning of the Rebellion, appear'd more active than the other.

They call'd an Assembly of the Bishops (every one of which had sign'd the Articles of the Peace) and chose some of their Clergy as a Representative of their Church to meet at *James Town*; where under the pretence of providing for the security of Religion, they examin'd the whole proceedings of the War, and how the Monies which had been collected, had been issued out. They call'd the giving up the Towns in *Munster* by the Lord *Inchiquin's* Officers, "the Conspiracy" and Treachery of all the *English*, out of their malice to Catholicick Religion; and thereupon press'd the Lord Lieutenant to dismiss all the *English* Gentlemen who yet remain'd with him. They call'd every unprosperous Accident that had fallen out, "a foul Miscarriage; and publish'd a Declaration full of libellous Invectives against the *English*, without sparing the Person of the Lord Lieutenant; who, they said, "being "of a contrary Religion, and a known inveterate Enemy to

The Popish Bishops make an Assembly, and publish a Declaration against the English.

*They declare
to the Lord
Lieutenant
they will no
longer submit
to him; and
require him
to commit
the Govern-
ment to a
Roman Ca-
tholick.*

“the Catholick, was not fit to be intrusted with the conduct
“of a War that was raised for the support, and preservation
“of it; and shortly after sent an Address to the Lord Lieute-
nant himself, in which they told him, “that the People were
“so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion
“from the Catholick Religion, and his favouring Hereticks,
“that they were unanimously resolv’d, as one Man, not to
“submit any longer to his Command, nor to raise any more
“Money, or Men, to be apply’d to the King’s Service under
“his Authority. But, on the other side, they assured him,
“that their Duty and Zeal was so entire, and real for the King,
“and their Resolution so absolute never to withdraw them-
“selves from his Obedience, that, if he would depart the
“Kingdom, and commit the Command thereof into the hands
“of any Person of Honour of the Catholick Religion, he
“would thereby unite the whole Nation to the King; and
“they would immediately raise an Army that should drive
“*Ireton* quickly again into *Dublin*; and that the Lord Lieute-
nant might know that they would not depart from this deter-
mination, they publish’d soon after an Excommunication against
all Persons who should obey any of the Lieutenant’s Orders,
or raise Money or Men by virtue of his Authority.

DURING all these Agitations, many of the Roman Ca-
tholick Nobility, and other Persons of the best Quality, re-
main’d very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cordially
interpos’d with the Popish Bishops to prevent their violent
proceedings; but had not power either to persuade, or re-
strain them. The Lord Lieutenant had no reason to be de-
lighted with his empty Title to Command a People who
would not Obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of
being betray’d, and deliver’d into the hands of *Ireton*, or
being Assassinated in his own Quarters. And though he did
not believe that the *Irish* would behave themselves with more
Fidelity, and Courage for the King’s Interest, when he should
be gone; well knowing that their Bishops and Clergy design’d
nothing but to put themselves under the Government of
some Popish Prince, and had at that time sent Agents into
Forreign Parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that
there were in truth Men enough, and Armes, and all Provi-
sions for the carrying on the War, who, if they were united,
and heartily resolv’d to preserve themselves, would be much
superior in number to any power *Ireton* could bring against
them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposite the
King’s Authority in the hands of a Person of unquestionable
Fidelity, whom the King would, without any scruple, trust,
and whom the *Irish* could not except against, being of their
own Nation, of the greatest Fortune and Interest amongst them,
and

and of the most eminent Constancy to the Roman Catholick Religion of any Man in the three Kingdoms; and that was the Marquis of *Clanrickard*. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself, and it was in his power safely to make the experiment, whether the *Irish* would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the King, if he should not consent to that Expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the Marquis of *Clanrickard* to accept the trust, who was a Man, though of an unquestionable Courage, yet, of an infirm Health; and lov'd, and enjoy'd great ease throughout his whole Life; and of a Constitution not equal to the fatigue, and distresses, that the conducting such a War must subject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly detested, the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his Country-men: nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the Popish Bishops, and Clergy, and the Exorbitant Power which they had assumed, and usurped to themselves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a Command. But by the extraordinary opportunity of the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom he had preserv'd a fast and unshaken Friendship, and his pressing him to preserve *Ireland* to the King, without which it would throw it self into the Arms of a Forreigner; and then the same opportunity from all the *Irish* Nobility, Bishops, and Clergy (after the Lord Lieutenant had inform'd them of his purpose) "that he would preserve his Nation, which without his Acceptance of their Protection, would infallibly be extirpated, and their joynt promise " that they would absolutely submit " to all his Commands, and hold no assembly, or meeting " amongst themselves, without his Permission and Commission, together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might possibly bring some advantage to his Majesty's Service, he was in the end prevail'd upon to receive a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of *Ireland*, and undertook that Charge.

The Mar-
quis of Or-
mond makes
the Marquis
of Clanric-
kard his
Deputy.

How well they complied afterwards with their promises, and protestations, and how much better Subjects they prov'd to be under their Catholick Governour, than they had been under their Protestant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of *Ormond* would not receive a Pass from *Ireton*, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the *English* Officers that desir'd it; but Embark'd himself, with some few Gentlemen besides his own Servants, in a small Frigate, and arriv'd safely in *Normandy*; and so

The Marquis went to Cam; where his Wife and Family had remain'd of Ormond from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the King's defeat at Worcester, and, as soon as his Majesty arriv'd at Paris, he forthwith attended him, and was most welcome to him.

SCOTLAND being subdued, and *Ireland* reduced to that Obedience as the Parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in *England* for the King's advantage. From the time that *Cromwell* was chosen General in the place of *Fairfax*, he took all occasions to discountenance the Presbyterians, and to put them out of all trust and Employment, as well in the Country as in the Army; and, whilst he was in *Scotland*, he had intercepted some Letters from one *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister in *London* (a Fellow who hath been mention'd before, in the time the Treaty was at *Uxbridge*, for Preaching against Peace) to a leading Preacher in *Scotland*; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive Instances that Justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which the Presbyterians could make, who appear'd publicly with their utmost power, the Man was Condemn'd and Executed upon *Tower-hill*. And to shew their impartiality, about the same time they Executed *Brown Bulhel*, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament in the beginning of the Rebellion, and shortly after serv'd the King to the end of the War, and had liv'd some years in *England* after the War expir'd, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, was enviously discover'd, and put to death.

Love, a Presbyterian Minister, executed.

IT is a wonderful thing what operation this Presbyterian Spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor Man *Love*, who had been guilty of as much Treason against the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appear'd with a marvellous undauntedness, he seem'd so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and express'd great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give testimony for the Covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends," he said, "of that Sanctified Obligation, to which he was in
"and

"and by his Conscience engaged. And in this raving fit; without so much as praying for the King, otherwise than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the block with as much Courage as the bravest, and honestest Man could do in the most Pious occasion.

WHEN *Cromwell* return'd to *London*, He caus'd several *Cromwell* High Courts of Justice to be erected, by which many Gentle- ^{causes sever-} men of Quality were condemn'd, and Executed in many parts ^{of High} of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been taken ^{Courts of} Prisoners at *Worcester*, or discover'd to have been there. And ^{Justice to be} that the Terrorour might be universal, some suffer'd for loose discourses in Taverns, what they would do towards Restoring the King, and others for having blank Commissions found in their hands sign'd by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appear'd, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay grovelling, and prostrate, after the defeat of *Worcester*.

THERE was at this time with the King the Marquis of *Ormond*; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majesty was now in unquestionable ^{The King's} safety, the streights and necessities he was in were as unque- ^{necessities at} sionable; which expos'd him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the Masters of very indigent Families are subjected to; and the more, because all Men consider'd only his Dignity, and not his Fortune: So that Men had the same Emulations, and Ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good Argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper Reversions, because he could not grant the Possession; and were solicitous for Honours, which he had power to grant, because he had not Fortunes to give them.

THERE had been a great acquaintance between the Mar- ^{The Friend-} quis of *Ormond*, when he was Lord *Charles*, in the life of his ^{ship between} Grand-father, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which ^{the Marquis} was renew'd, by a mutual correspondence, when they both ^{of Ormond} came to have shares in the publick business, the one in Ire- ^{and the} land, and the other in *England*: So that when they now met ^{Chancellor} at *Paris*, they met as old Friends, and quickly understood each ^{of the Ex-} other so well, that there could not be a more entire confi- ^{chequer.} dence between Men. The Marquis consult'd with him in his nearest concernments, and the Chancellor esteem'd, and cultivated the Friendship with all possible Industry and application. The King was abundantly satisfied in the Friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavour'd by Persons of no ordinary Account, to break or interrupt that

mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the King remain'd beyond the Seas; whereby the King's perplexed Affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this Friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the Trust.

The necessities and factions of the Duke of York's Family.

BESIDES the wants and necessities which the King was press'd with in respect of himself, who had nothing, but was oblig'd to find himself by credit in Coats, and all other necessities for his Person, and of his Family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his Brother the Duke of York's Family, and by the disorder and faction in it. The Queen complain'd heavily of *Sr George Ratcliffe*, and the Attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some Right of being of the Duke's Family by a Grant of the late King; which his present Majesty determin'd against him; and reprehended his Activity in the last Summer. *Sr John Berkley* had most of the Queen's Favour; and though he had at that time no Interest in the Duke's Affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his Royal Highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no Man acted the Governour's part more Importunately than He had done whilst the Lord *Byron* was absent, finding that he himself was lyable in some degree to be govern'd upon that Lord's return, he had us'd all the ways he could, that the Duke might be exempted from any Subjection to a Governour, presuming, that, when that Title should be extinguished, he should be possess'd of some such Office and Relation, as should not be under the Controule of any but the Duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stay'd at *Paris* when his Highness visited *Flanders* and *Holland*. Now he took advantage of the Activity of the Duke's Spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his Honour to put himself into Action, and not to be learning his Exercises in *Paris* whilst the Army was in the Field: A Proposition first intimated by the Cardinal, "that the Duke was now of years to learn his *mestier*, and had now the opportunity to improve himself, by being in the care of a General reputed equal to any Captain in *Christendom*, with whom he might learn that Experience, and make those Observations, as might enable him to serve the King his Brother, who must hope to recover his Right only by the Sword. This the Cardinal had said both to the Queen, and to the Lord *Jermyn*, whilst

whilst the King was in *Scotland*, when no Man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture: But, after the King's Return from *England*, there wanted nothing but the Approbation of his Majesty; and no Man more desired it than the Lord *Byron*, who had had good Command, and prefer'd that kind of Life before that which he was obliged to live in at *Paris*. There was no need of Spurs to be employ'd to incite the Duke; who was most impatient to be in the Army. And therefore *St John Berkley* could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "that whosoever opposed it, and dissuaded the King from giving his consent, was an Enemy to his Highness's Glory, and desired that he should live always in Pupillage; not omitting to put him in mind, "that his very entrance into the Army set him at Liberty; and put him into his own disposal; since no Man went into the Field under the direction of a Governour; still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that Resolution, or endeavour to persuade the King not to approve it; "which, he told him, could proceed from nothing but want of Affection to his Person. By this means he hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believ'd, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an Argument that pleased him.

THE Duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reserv'd in the point; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less concern'd for his Safety than they ought to be. His Highness then conferr'd with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the King, amongst whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highness was confirm'd in the jealousy which *St John Berkley* had kindled in him, that He was the principal Person who obstructed the King's Condescension. There was at that time no Man with the King who had been a Counsellor to his Father, or sworn to Himself, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of *Ormond*, though he had administr'd the Affairs in *Ireland*, was never sworn a Counsellor in *England*; yet his Majesty look'd upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a Body, as should be esteem'd by all Men as his Privy Council, without whose Advice he would take no Resolutions. The King knew the
Queen

*The King
appoints a
new Council.*

Queen would not be well pleased, if the Lord *Jermyn* were not one ; who in all other respects was necessary to that Trust, since all Addresses to the Court of *France* were to be made by him : And the Lord *Wilmot*, who had cultivated the King's Affection during the time of their Peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his Service, could not be left out. The King therefore call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to the Council Board ; and declared " that they three, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, should be consulted with in all his Affairs. The Queen very earnestly pressed the King, " that *St John Berkley* might likewise be " made a Counsellor ; which his Majesty would not consent to ; and thought he could not refuse the same Honour to the Lord *Westworth*, the Lord *Byron*, or any other Person who should wait upon him, if he granted it to *St John Berkley*, who had no manner of pretence.

*Sir John
Berkley
pretends to
the Mastership
of the
Wards.*

BERKLEY took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great Parts, and the Services he had perform'd, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other Men. But because he would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a Right he had, by a promise of the late King, to be Master of the Wards ; and that Officer had usually been of the Privy Council. The evidence he had of that promise, was an intercepted Letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had caused to be printed. In that Letter the King answer'd a Letter he had receiv'd from her Majesty, in which she put him in mind, " that he had promised " her to make *Jack Berkley* (which was the style in the Letter) " Master of the Wards ; which, the King said, " he wond'ring at, since he could not remember that she had ever " spoken to him to that purpose ; implying likewise that he was " not fit for it. He pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer " to urge this matter of Right to the King (and said, " the " Queen would declare the King had promised it to her) and " to prevail with his Majesty to make him presently Master " of the Wards ; which would give him such a Title to the " Board, that others could not take his being called thither as " a prejudice to them.

THE Chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a Negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late King had not so good an opinion of *St John Berkley*, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into

into him, the King had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that Office at *Oxford* to the Lord *Cottingham*; who executed it as long as Offices were executed under the Grant of the Crown, and was possessed of the Title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "the King could not at this time do a more ungracious thing, that would lose him more the hearts and affections of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, than in making a Master of the Wards, in a time when it would not be the least Advantage to his Majesty or the Officer, to declare that he resolv'd to insist upon that part of his Prerogative which his Father had consented to part with; the resuming whereof in the full rigour, which he might lawfully do, would ruin most of the Estates of *England*, as well of his Friends as Enemies, in regard of the vast Arrears incurr'd in so many years; and therefore whatever his Majesty might think to resolve hereafter, when it should please God to restore him, for the present there must be no thought of such an Officer.

SIR *John Berkley* was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alledged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "since his friends would not, he would himself require justice of the King; and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next Room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor's contradiction, pressed his Majesty, "to make good the promise his Father had made; and magnified the Service he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the custom of making frequent relations of his own Actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which no body else ever heard of. The King who knew him very well, and believ'd little of his History, and less of his Father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial (which in his Nature his Majesty affected not) lest it might indispose his Mother or his Brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the Office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his Majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alledged, that at the last the King prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such Cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him. *The King denies it him.*

ALL

ALL this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the King from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that Audience from his Majesty, he declar'd, " that he knew all that Indisposition had been infused by him ; " because many of the reasons, which his Majesty had given " against his doing what he desired, were the very same that " the Chancellor had urged to him ; though they could not but have occur'd to any reasonable Man , who had been called to consult upon that Subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of his best Friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk with the Chancellor (shortly after ; and, in a very calm, though a very confused discourse, told him, " that, since he " was resolv'd to break all Friendship with him, which had " continued now near twenty years, he thought it but just " to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might " not expect any Friendship from him, but that they might " live towards each other with that civility only that Strangers use to do. The Chancellor told him, " that the same " justice that dispos'd him to give this notice, should likewise " oblige him to declare the reason of this resolution ; and asked him, " whether he had ever broken his word to him ? or " promised to do what he had not done ? He answer'd, " his " Exception was, that he could not be brought to make any " promise ; and that their judgements were so different, that " he would no more depend upon him ; and so they parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remain'd in France.

*Whereupon
Sir John
breaks with
the Chan-
cellor.*

*Deliberation
in the Coun-
cil, whether
the Duke of
York should
go into the
French
Army.*

THE Spring was now advanced, and the Duke of York continued his importunity with the King, " that he might " have his leave to repair to the Army. And thereupon his Majesty called his Council together, the Queen his Mother, and his Brother, being likewise present. There his Majesty declared " what his Brother had long desired of him ; to which " he had hitherto given no other Answer, than that he would " think of it ; and before he could give any other, he thought " it necessary to receive their advice : nor did his Majesty in the least discover what he himself was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had desired of the King ; and said, " he " thought he asked nothing but what became him ; if he did " not, he hoped the King would not deny it to him, and that " no body would advise he should. The Queen spoke not a word ; and the King desired the Lords to deliver their opinion ; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin ; there being no fixed Rule of the Board, but sometimes, according to the Nature of the business, he who was first in place began,

gun, at other times he who was last in Quality; and when it required some Debate before any opinion should be deliver'd, any Man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to speak first. He said, "it could not be expected, that he would deliver his opinion in a Matter that was so much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought, at least, till the Question was otherwise stated than it yet seem'd to him to be. He said, "he thought the Council would not be willing to take it upon Them to advise that the Duke of *Tork*, the next Heir to the Crown, should go a Voluntier into the *French* Army, and that the exposing himself to so much danger, should be the effect of Their Counsel who ought to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every Branch of the Royal Family; but if the Duke of *Tork*, out of his own Princely courage, and to attain experience in the Art of War, of which there was like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to visit the Army, and to spend that Campagne in it, and that the question only was, whether the King should restrain him from that Expedition, he was ready to declare his opinion, that his Majesty should not; there being great difference between the King's advising him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely suffering him to do what his own Genius inclined him to. The King and Queen lik'd the stating of the Question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the Duke was as well pleas'd with it, since it left him at the Liberty he desired; and the Lords thought it safest for Them: and so all were pleas'd; and much of the prejudice which the Duke had entertain'd towards the Chancellor, was abated: and his Royal Highness, with the good liking of the *French* Court, went to the Army; where he was receiv'd by the Marshal of *Torroune*, *The Duke* with all possible demonstration of respect; where, in a short *post to the* time, he got the reputation of a Prince of very signal Courage, *Army*. and to be universally belov'd of the whole Army by his affable behaviour.

THE insupportable necessities of the King were now grown so notorious, that the *French* Court was compell'd to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry Compliments for the smallness of the Assignation in respect of the ill condition of their Affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an Assignation of six thousand Livres by the Month upon the King, payable out of such a Gabel; which, being to begin six Months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contract'd to be easily satisfied out of such a Monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The Queen, at his Majesty's

The Assignation of six thousand Livres by the month settled upon the King by the French Court.

Majesty's first arrival, had declar'd, "that he was not able to bear the charge of the King's dyet, but that he must pay "one half of the expence of her Table, where both their Majesties eat, with the Duke of *York*, and the Princess *Henrietta* (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of *York* was upon the King's Account) and the very first Night's Supper which the King eat with the Queen, begun the Account ; and a Moiety thereof was charged to the King : so that the first Money that was receiv'd for the King upon his Grant, was entirely stopp'd by *Sr Harry Wood*, the Queen's Treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the Queen's Table (which expence was first satisfied, as often as Money could be procured) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for Cloaths and other Necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his Servants ; the Marquis of *Ormond* himself being compell'd to put himself in Pension, with other Gentlemen, at a Pistole a Week for his dyet, and to walk the Streets on foot, which was no honourable custome in *Paris* ; whilst the Lord *Fermyn* kept an excellent Table for those who courted him, and had a Coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune ; and if the King had the most urgent occasion for the Use but of twenty Pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it ; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assign'd by the King of *France*, his Necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the King went to *Fersey* in order to his Journey into *Ireland*, and at the same time that he sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into *Spain*, he sent likewise the Lord *Colepepper* into *Mosco*, to borrow Money of that Duke ; and into *Poland* he sent *Mr Crofts* upon the same errand. The former return'd whilst the King was in *Scotland* ; and the latter about the time that his Majesty made his escape from *Worcester*. And both of them succeeded so well in their Journey, that he who receiv'd least for his Majesty's Service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expence of their Journies.

How the Money was disposed that was sent the King from Mosco and Poland.

BUT, as if the King had been out of all possible danger to want Money, the Lord *Fermyn* had sent an Express into *Scotland*, as soon as he knew what success the Lord *Colepepper* had at *Mosco*, and found there were no less hopes from *Mr Crofts*, and procured from the King (who could with more ease grant, than deny) Warrants under his hand to both those Envoys, to pay the Monies they had receiv'd to several Persons;

sons; whereof a considerable Sum was made a present to the Queen, more to the Lord *Jermyn*, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminish'd by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the Askers; whereof Dr *Goffe* had eight hundred pounds for Services he had perform'd, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his Religion, and became one of the Fathers of the Oratory: so that, when the King return'd in all that distress to *Paris*, he never receiv'd five hundred Pistoles from the proceed of both those Embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty, seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any Service upon their own expence; of which the King was sensible enough, but resolv'd to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any Expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

THE Lord *Jermyn*, who, in his own judgement, was very indifferent in all matters relating to Religion, was always of some Faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyterians from the time that there had been any Treaties with the *Scots*, in which he had too much privacy. And now, upon the King's Return into *France*, he had a great design to perswade his Majesty to go to the Congregation at *Charleston*, to the end that he might keep up his Interest in the Presbyterian Party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the King Service, or willing; if they were able, without such odious Conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their Overtures. The Queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this; but rather seem'd to countenance it, as the best Expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by her self, or by others with her advice, used the least means to perswade the King to change his Religion, as well out of observation of the Injunction laid upon her by the deceased King, as out of the conformity of her own judgement, which could not but perswade her that the Change of his Religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering *England* desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from *Worcester*, she did really despair of his being restored by the Affections of his own Subjects; and believ'd that it could never be brought to pass without a Conjunction of Catholick Princes on his behalf, and by an united force to Restore him; and that such a Conjunction would never be enter'd into, except the King himself became Roman Catholick. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any Attempts should be made upon him to that purpose; and, in that regard, wish'd that he would go to *Charleston*; which she well

.. knew

knew was not the Religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the Church in which he had been bred; and from which as soon as he could be perswaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more expos'd to any other temptation.

The Ministers of Charenton press the King to come to their Church; and are seconded by the Lord Jermyn. Dr Steward dies presently after the King's return into France.

The King had not positively refused to gratify the Ministers of that Congregation; who, with great professions of Duty, had besought him to do them that Honour, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him; in which it was believ'd, that they were the more like to prevail by the Death of Dr Steward; for whose judgement in matters of Religion the King had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his Father: And he died after the King's Return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the King to go to Charenton, though he saw no disposition in his Majesty to yield to it.

THE Lord Jermyn still pressed it, "as a thing that ought in policy and discretion to be done, to reconcile that People, which was a great Body in France, to the King's Service, which would draw to him all the Foreign Churches, and thereby he might receive considerable Assistance. He wonder'd, he said, "why it should be oppos'd by any Man; "since he did not wish that his Majesty would discontinue his own Devotions, according to the course he had always observ'd; nor propose that he should often repair thither, "but only sometimes, at least once, to shew that he did look upon them as of the same Religion with him; which the Church of England had always acknowledg'd; and that it had been an Instruction to the English Embassadors, that they should keep a good correspondence with those of the Religion, and frequently resort to Divine Service at Charenton; "where they had always a Pew kept for them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer dissuaded him from it.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer dissuaded his Majesty from going thither with equal earnestness; told him, "that, "whatever countenance or favour, the Crown or Church of England had heretofore shew'd to those Congregations, it was in a time when they carried themselves with modesty and duty towards both, and when they profess'd great duty to the King, and much reverence to that Church; lamenting themselves, that it was not in their power, by the opposition of the State, to make their Reformation so perfect as it was in England. And by this kind of behaviour they had indeed receiv'd the Protection and Countenance from England as if they were of the same Religion; though, it may be, the Original of that Countenance and Protection proceeded from another less warrantable foundation; which he was sure would never find Credit from his Majesty. But, "whatever it was, that People now had undeserv'd it from the King;

"King; for, as soon as the Troubles began, the Hugonots of
 "France had generally expressed great Malice to the late King,
 "and very many of their Preachers and Ministers had pub-
 "lickly and industriously justified the Rebellion, and pray'd for
 "the good success of it; and their Synod it self had in such a
 "manner inveigh'd against the Church of *England*, that they,
 "upon the matter, profess'd themselves to be of another Re-
 "ligion; and inveigh'd against Episcopacy, as if it were in-
 "consistent with the Protestant Religion. That one of their
 "great Professors at their University of *Saumur*, who was
 "look'd upon as a Man of the most moderate spirit amongst
 "their Ministers, had publish'd an Apology for the general
 "inclination of that Party to the proceedings of the Parlia-
 "ment of *England*, lest it might give some jealousy to their
 "own King of their inclination to Rebellion, and of their
 "opinion that it was lawful for Subjects to take up Arms
 "against their Prince; which, he said, could not be done in
 "France without manifest Rebellion, and incurring the dis-
 "pleasure of God for the manifest breach of his Command-
 "ments; because the King of *France* is an absolute King, in-
 "dependent upon any other Authority. But that the Consti-
 "tution of the Kingdom of *England* was of another Nature;
 "because the King there is subordinate to the Parliament,
 "which hath Authority to raise Arms for the Reformation
 "of Religion, or for the executing the publick Justice of the
 "Kingdom against all those who violate the Laws of the Na-
 "tion, so that the War might be just There, which in no case
 "could be warrantable in *France*.

THE Chancellor told the King, "that, after such an in-
 "dignity offer'd to him, and to his Crown, and since they had
 "now made such a distinction between the Episcopal and the
 "Presbyterian Government, that they thought the Professors
 "were not of the same Religion, his going to *Charenton* could
 "not be without this effect, that it would be concluded every-
 "where, that his Majesty thought the one or the other Pro-
 "fession to be indifferent; which would be one of the most
 "deadly wounds to the Church of *England* that it had yet
 "ever suffer'd. These reasons prevail'd so far with the King's
 "own natural aversion from what had been propos'd, that he
 "declared positively, "he would never go to *Charenton*; which
 "determination eas'd him from any farther application of that
 "People. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged
 "upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable En-
 "emy of all Presbyterians, and as the only Man who diverted
 "the King from having a good opinion of them: whereas in
 "truth, the daily information he receiv'd from the King him-
 "self of their barbarous behaviour in *Scotland* towards him, and

The King
 declar'd he
 would not go.

of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their Manners, did confirm him in the judgement he had always made of their Profession; and he was the more grievous to those of that Profession, because they could not, as they used to do all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being Popishly affected, and govern'd by the Papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the Queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her Religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the King from going to *Charenton*.

THERE was another Accident, which fell out at this time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the Queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her Majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and, in consistence with that, did never, in the least degree, dispose his Majesty to deny any thing to her which she own'd the desire of. Lieutenant General *Middleton*, who had been taken Prisoner after *Worcester* Fight, after he was recover'd of his wounds was sent Prisoner to the Tower of *London*; where were likewise many Noble Persons of that Nation, as the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Eastberdale*, and many others. But as They of the Parliament had a greater regard for *Middleton* than for any other of that Country, knowing him to be a Man of great honour and courage, and much the best Officer the *Scots* had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their Mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other Prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the War, serv'd them; and though he had quitted their Service at the same time when they cashier'd the Earl of *Essex*, and made their new Model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolv'd to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new High Court of Justice, for the Trial of some Persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially *Middleton* and *Massey*.

THIS last, after he had escaped from *Worcester*, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his Wounds, that being near the Seat of the Earl of *Stamford*, whose Lieutenant Colonel he had been in the beginning of the War, and being well known to his Lady, he chose to commit himself to Her rather than to her Husband; hoping, that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the Lady had only charity to cure his Wounds, not courage to conceal his Person; and such Advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be

be remov'd, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destin'd Middleton and Massiey, Prisoners in the Tower, design'd to be try'd by a High Court of Justice. to be sacrificed by the High Court of Justice together with *Middleton*, for the future security of the Common-wealth.

BUT now the Presbyterian interest shew'd it self, and doubtless in enterprises of this Nature, was very powerful; having in all places Persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their Orders, though they did not pretend to be of their Party. And the time Approaching that they were sure *Middleton* was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular Advertisement, that he took his leave of his Friends in the Tower, and made his Escape; and having Friends enough to shelter him in *London*, after he had concealed himself there a Fortnight or three Weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and enquiry was over, he was safely Transported into *France*. And within few days after, *Massiey* had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very Soul of *Cromwell*; who thirsted for the blood of those two Persons. Middleton makes his escape into France. And Massiey escapes.

WHEN *Middleton* came to the King to *Paris*, he brought with him a little *Scotish* Vicar, who was known to the King, An account of Scotland brought to the King by a Scotch Vicar that Middleton brought with him. one Mr *Knox*, who brought Letters of credit to his Majesty, and some Propositions from his Friends in *Scotland*, and other Dispatches from the Lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferr'd after *Middleton* had escap'd from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole Nation by the severe proceedings of General *Monk*, to whose care *Cromwell* had committed the Reduction of that Kingdom, upon the taking of *Dundee*, where Persons of all Degrees and Qualities were put to the Sword after the Town was enter'd, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places render'd. All Men complain'd of the Marquis of *Argyle*, who prosecuted the King's Friends with the utmost malice, and protect'd and preserv'd the rest according to his desire. He gave the King assurance from the most considerable Persons, who had retired into the High-lands, "that they would never swerve from their duty; and that they would be able, during the Winter, to infest the Enemy by incursions into their Quarters; and that, if *Middleton* might be sent to them with some supply of Armes, they would have an Army ready against the Spring, strong enough to meet with *Monk*. He said, "he was Addressed from *Scotland* to the Lords in the Tower, who did not then know that *Middleton* had arriv'd in safety with the King; and therefore they had commanded him, if neither *Middleton*, nor the Lord *Newburgh* were about his Majesty, that then he should repair to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and desire him to present him to the King; but that, having found

*The Request
as the King
of his Friends
there.*

“both those Lords there, he had made no farther Application than to them, who had brought him to his Majesty. He told the King, “that both those in *Scotland*, and those in “the Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a condition to his Majesty; that, except it were granted, they “would no more think of serving his Majesty: the condition “was, that whatever should have relation to his Service in “*Scotland*, and to Their Persons who were to venture their “lives in it, might not be communicated to the Queen, the “Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Fermyn*, or the Lord *Will-* “*mot*. They professed all duty to the Queen, but they knew “she had too good an opinion of the Marquis of *Argyle*; “who would infallibly come to know whatever was known “to either of the other.

THE King did not expect that any notable Service could be perform'd by his Friends in *Scotland* for his Advantage, or their own Redemption; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the Professions, and Overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of Affection, and Duty to him; and therefore resolv'd to grant any thing they desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they propos'd to the Queen, or the other three Lords. But since they propos'd present Dispatches to be made of Commissions, and Letters, he wish'd them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that Service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desired, “that all matters relating to *Scotland* might be consulted by his Majesty with the Marquis “of *Ormond*, the Lord *Newburgh*, and the Chancellor of the “Exchequer; and that all the Dispatches might be made by “the Chancellor; which the King consented to; and bid the Lord *Newburgh* go with them to him, and let them know his Majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the Lord *Newburgh* brought *Middleton* to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

*The King
appoints the
Chancellor of
the Exchequer
to make
all Dis-
patches for
Scotland.
The Mar-
quis of Or-
mond's and
the Chancel-
lor's opinion
concerning
the King's
Affairs at
that time.*

THE Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, believ'd that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the Amity of Christian Princes, or some such Revolution of Affairs in *England* by their own Discontents, and Divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they propos'd nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being receiv'd into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy
her

her Grace and good Acceptation. But the designation of them to this *Scotiſh* Intrigue, croſſed all this imagination, and ſhook that foundation of Peace and Tranquillity, upon which they had raiſed their preſent hopes.

THE Chancellor therefore went preſently to the King, and beſought him with earneſtneſs, “that he would not lay that Burthen upon him, or engage him in any part of the Counſels of that People. He put his Maſteſty in mind of “the continued avow’d jealousy, and diſpleaſure, which that whole Party in that Nation had ever had againſt him; and that his Maſteſty very well knew, that thoſe Noble Perſons who ſerv’d him beſt when he was in *Scotland*, and in whoſe Affection and Fidelity he had all poſſible ſatisfaction, had ſome prejudice againſt him, and would be troubled when they ſhould hear that all their Secrets were committed to Him. He told his Maſteſty, this Truſt would for ever deprive him of all hope of the Queen’s Favour; who could not but diſcern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent reſort of the *Scotiſh* Vicar to him (who had the Vanity to deſire long conferences with him) “that there was ſome Secret in hand which was kept from Her; and he would as eaſily diſcover, that the Chancellor was privy to it, by his reading Papers to his Maſteſty, and his Signing them; and would from thence conclude, that He had perſwaded him to exclude her Maſteſty from that Truſt; which he would never forgive. Upon the whole, he renew’d his importunity, “that he might be excuſed from this confidence.

THE King heard him with patience and attention enough; and confeſſed, “that he had reaſon not to be ſollicitous for that Employment; but he wiſhed him to conſider withal, “that he muſt either undertake it, or that his Maſteſty muſt in plain terms reject the Correſpondence; which, he ſaid, he thought he would not adviſe him to do. If his Maſteſty entertain’d it, it could not be imagin’d that all thoſe Tranſactions could paſs through his own hand, or, if they could, his being ſhut up ſo long alone would make the ſame diſcovery. Whom then ſhould he truſt? The Lord *Newburgh*, it was very true, was a very honeſt Man, and worthy of any Truſt; but he was not a Counſellor, and nothing could be ſo much wonder’d at, as his frequent being ſhut up with him; and more, his bringing any Papers to him to be ſign’d. As to the general prejudice which he conceiv’d was againſt him by that Party, his Maſteſty told him, “the Nation was much alter’d ſince he had to do with them, and that no Men were better lov’d by them now than “They who had from the beginning been faithful to his Fa-

"ther, and Himself. To which he added, that *Middleton* had the least in him, of any infirmities most incident to that Party, that he knew: And that he would find him a Man of great Honour and Ingenuity, with whom he would be well pleased. His Majesty said, "he would frankly declare to his Mother, that he had receiv'd some Intelligence out of *Scotland*, and that he was obliged, and had given his word to those whose Lives would be forfeited if known, that he would not communicate it with any but those who were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could not be offended with his reservation: And concluded with a gracious Conjuraton and Command to the Chancellor, that he should chearfully submit, and undergo that Employment; which, he assured him, should never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to him. In this manner, he submitted himself to the King's disposal, and was trusted throughout that Affair; which had several Stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniencies he had foreseen, and render'd him so unacceptable to the Queen, that she easily entertain'd those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compell'd to bear many hardships.

The Chancellor submitted; and was accordingly trusted in those Affairs.

The Troubles of the French Court about this time.

THIS uncomfortable Condition of the King was render'd yet more desperate, by the Streights, and Necessities, into which the *French* Court was about this time plunged: So that they who hitherto had shew'd no very good will to assist the King, were now become really unable to do it. The Parliament of *Paris* had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their King's Commands, press'd so importunately for the Liberty of the Princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at last compell'd to persuade the Queen to consent to both: And so himself rid to *Havre de Grace*, and deliver'd the Queen's Warrant to set them at Liberty, and after a short Conference with the Prince of *Conde*, he continued his own Journey towards *Germany*, and pass'd in disguise, with two or three Servants, till he came near *Cologne*, and there he remain'd at a House belonging to that Elector.

WHEN the Princes came to *Paris*, they had receiv'd great welcome from the Parliament, and the City; and instead of closing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the Wound was widen'd without any hope of reconciliation: So that the King and Queen Regent, withdrew from thence; the Town was in Armes; and Fire and Sword denounced against the Cardinal; his Goods sold at an Outcry; and a price set upon his Head; and all Persons who profess'd any Duty to their King, found themselves very unsafe in

Paris.

Paris. During all this time the Queen of *England* and the King, with their Families, remain'd in the *Louvre*, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the Assignments, which had been made for their Subsistence, not being paid them: And the loose People of the Town begun to talk of the Duke of *Tork's* being in Arms against them. But the Duke of *Orleans*, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the Prince of *Condé*, visited our King and Queen with many Professions of Civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the *French King's* Army came upon one side of the Town, and the *Spanish*, with the Duke of *Lorraine's*, upon the other. The *French Army* thought they had the Enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a Battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the Court had an underhand Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*; and, upon a day appointed, the *French King* sent to the King of *England*, to desire him to confer with the Duke of *Lorraine*; who lay then with his Army within a Mile of the Town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceiv'd, that his Majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his Majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assign'd; where he found both Armies drawn up in Battalia within Cannon shot of each other. Upon his Majesty's coming to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Treaty was again reviv'd, and Messages sent between the Duke and Marshal *Turenne*. In fine, the Night approaching, both Armies drew off from their ground, and his Majesty return'd to the *Louvre*; and before the next Morning, the Treaty was finish'd between the Court and the Duke of *Lorraine*; and he march'd away with his whole Army towards *Flanders*, and left the *Spaniards* to support the Parliament against the Power of the *French Army*; which advanced upon them with that Resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the Prince of *Condé* did the Office of a brave General in the *Fauxbourg St Marceaux*, and at the Port *St Antoine*, in which places many gallant Persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the City had not been prevail'd with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's Army retir'd to their old Post, four Leagues off, and attended future advantages: The King having a very great Party in the Parliament and the City, which abhor'd the receiving and entertaining the *Spaniards* into their bowels.

THIS Retreat of the Duke of *Lorraine*, broke the neck of the Prince of *Condé's* design. He knew well he should not be long able to retain the Duke of *Orleans* from treating with the Court, or keep the *Parisians* at his Devotion; and

The King of
England
and his Mo-
ther remove
to St Ger-
main'.

that the Duke *de Beaufort*, whom they had made Governour of *Paris*, would be weary of the Contention. For the present, they were all incens'd against the Duke of *Lorraine*; and were well enough contented that the People should believe, that this defection in the Duke was wrought by the activity, and interposition of the King of *England*; and they who did know that his Interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to intercept his Majesty's Journey to speak with the Duke in so unseasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the People express'd, and us'd all the insolent reproaches against the *English* Court at the *Louvre*, and loudly threaten'd to be reveng'd, so neither the Duke of *Orleans*, nor the Prince of *Condé*, made any visit there, or express'd the least Civility towards it. In truth, our King and Queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirr'd out of the *Louvre* for many days, until the *French* Court thought themselves oblig'd to provide for their Security, by advising the King and Queen to remove, and assign'd *St Germain's* to them for their Retreat. Then his Majesty sent to the Duke of *Orleans*, and Prince of *Condé*, "that their purpose was to leave the Town: upon which there was a Guard that attended them out of the Town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some Troops of Horse sent by the *French* King, which conducted them by Torch-light to *St Germain's*; where they arriv'd about midnight; and remain'd there without any disturbance, till *Paris* was reduced to that King's Obedience.

IT is a very hard thing for People who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoy'd quiet and repose; and that a Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from Faction and Ambition; whilst every Man had compos'd himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for Conscience sake, which every Man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the King from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffer'd much more than any Body else. But whilst there are Courts in the World, Emulation and Ambition will be inseparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, should be press'd to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gift could be, because they always draw on more of the same title, and pretence; and as they who receive the Favours, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such Suits, are

are griev'd and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold Men so unseasonably gratified and encouraged.

THE King found no benefit of this kind in being stripp'd of all his Dominions, and all his Power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for Honours, and Offices, *Solicitations for places in the King's Court.* and Revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and Men who would not have had the presumption to have ask'd the same thing, if the King had been in *England*, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind, cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires imputed it only to the ill Nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that He alone obstructed it, because they always receiv'd very gracious Answers from his Majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any Man's, and it appear'd he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit, and interest he was thought to have with his Master.

THE Lord *Wilmot* had, by the opportunity of his late Conversation with the King in his Escape, drawn many kind expressions from his Majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a Testimony of his Grace and Favour, as might distinguish him from other Men, and publish the esteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majesty that he would make him an Earl, referring the time of his Creation to his Majesty's own choice: And the modesty of this reference prevail'd; the King well knowing, that the same Honour would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not ask'd for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his Service.

THERE were Projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the Projectors still consider'd themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the Success. The Duke of *Tork* was so well pleas'd with the fatigue of the War, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his Servants did not like that course of Life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some Advantages to themselves out of His appointments. *Sr John Berkley* was now, upon the death of the Lord *Byron*, by which the Duke was depriv'd of a very good Servant, become the superior of his Family, and call'd himself, without any Authority for it, *Intendant des Affaires* *The Lord Byron, the Duke's Governor, &c.*

de son Altesse Royale; had the management of all his Receipts and Disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better Revenue for his Master, than the small Pension he receiv'd from *France*; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a Wife of a great and noble Fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

THERE was then a Lady in the Town, *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, the Daughter of the Duke *de Longueville* by his first Wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair Revenue, and had title to a very considerable Sum of Money, which her Father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon, as one of the greatest and richest Marriages in *France*, in respect of her Fortune; in respect of her Person not at all attractive, being a Lady of a very low Stature, and that Stature somewhat deform'd. This Lady *Sr John* design'd for the Duke; and treated with those Ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the Education of her, before he mention'd it to his Royal Highness. Then he perswaded him, "that all hopes in *England* were desperate: That the Government was so settled there, that it could never be shaken; so that his Highness must think of no other Fortune than what he should make by his Sword: That he was now upon the Stage where he must act out his Life, and that he should do well to think of providing a Civil Fortune for himself, as well as a Martial; which could only be by Marriage: and then spoke of *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, and made her Fortune at least equal to what it was; "which, he said, "when once his Highness was possessed of, he might sell; and "thereby raise Money to pay an Army to Invade *England*, "and so might become the Restorer of the King his Brother: "this he thought very practicable, if his Highness seriously "and heartily would endeavour it. The Duke himself had no aversion from Marriage, and the consideration of the Fortune, and the circumstances which might attend it, made it not the less acceptable; yet he made no other Answer to it, "than that he must first know the King's and Queen's judgment of it, before he could take any resolution what to do. Upon which *Sr John* undertook, with his Highness's approbation, to propose it to their Majesties himself, and accordingly first spoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was believ'd, that the first Overture and Attempt had not been made without her Majesty's privacy, and approbation; for the Lord *Fermyn* had been no less active in the contrivance than *Sr John Berkley*: yet her Majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it, till she knew the King's: and so at last,

Sir John
Berkley design'd
Mademoiselle de
Longueville for the
Duke's wife.

last, after the young Lady her self had been spoken to, his Majesty was inform'd of it, and his approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his Authority to obstruct what was look'd upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his Brother; though he did not dissemble his Resentment of their Presumption who undertook to enter upon Treaties of that Nature, with the same liberty as if it concern'd only their own Kindred and Allies: However, he was very reserv'd in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his Majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgement was; and the Lord *Jermyns* spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the Lady's Friends would not easily be induced to give their consent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other Answer, than "that it was a Subject so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the Ambition to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less than the King's or Queen's Command should not induce him to enter upon the discourse of it.

It was not long before the Queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he answer'd, "that he did not understand the convenience of it so well, as she Marriage. "to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the Duke of York: But he thought, that neither the King, nor her Majesty, should be willing that the Heir of the Crown should be Married before the King himself; or that it should be in any Woman's power to say, that, if there were but one Person dead, she should be a Queen: With which her Majesty, who no doubt did love the King with all possible tenderness, seem'd to be moved, as if it had been a consideration she had not thought of before; and said, with some warmth, "that she would never give her consent that it should be so. However, this Argument was quickly made known to the Duke of York, and several glosses made upon it, to the reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made such an impression, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient Wife for the King himself, and *Mademoiselle* the Daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by his first Wife, who, in the Right of her Mother, was already possessed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy of *Mompensier*, was thought of. To this the Queen was much inclined, and the King himself not averse; both looking too much upon the relief it might give

The Queen consults the Chancellor of the Exchequer about her Marriage.

Mademoiselle likewise thought on for the King.

to his present necessities, and the convenience of having a place to repose in, as long as the storm should continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other Overture, to have drawn on this Proposition; and the Marquis of *Ormond* and He were no less troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be look'd upon as Men of contradiction.

*The Marquis
of Ormond's
and the Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer's
exceptions a-
gainst this.*

THEY represented to the King, "that, as it could admi-
nister only some competency towards his present subsistence,
"so it might exceedingly prejudice his future hopes, and alien-
"ate the Affections of his Friends in *England*: That the Lady
"was elder than He by some years; which was an exception
"amongst private Persons; and had been observ'd not to be
"prosperous to Kings: That his Majesty must expect to be
"pressed to those things in point of Religion which he could
"never consent to; and yet he should undergo the same dis-
"advantage as if he had consented, by many Men's believing
"he had done so. They besought him "to set his heart en-
"tirely upon the recovery of *England*, and to indulge to no-
"thing that might reasonably obstruct that, either by making
"him less intent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in
"the pursuing it. His Majesty assur'd them "that his heart
"was set upon nothing else; and, if he had inclination to this
"Marriage, it was because he believ'd it might much facilit-
"ate the other: That he look'd not upon her Fortune, which
"was very great, as an Annual support to him, but as a stock
"that should be at his disposal; by Sale whereof he might
"raise Money enough to raise a good Army to attempt the
"recovery of his Kingdoms: and that he would be well as-
"sured, that it should be in his power to make that use of it,
"before he would be engaged in the Treaty: that he had no
"apprehension of the pressures which would be made in mat-
"ters of Religion; because, if the Lady did once consent to
"the Marriage, she would affect nothing but what might ad-
"vance the recovery of his Dominions; which she would
"quickly understand any unreasonable Concessions in Reli-
"gion would never do. In a word, his Majesty discover'd
"enough to let them see that he stood well enough inclined to
"the Overture it self; which gave them trouble, as a thing
"which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconven-
"ient.

BUT they were quickly freed from that apprehension. The Lady carried her self in that manner, on the behalf of the Prince of *Condé*, and so offensively to the *French* Court, having given fire her self to the Cannon in the *Bastile* upon the King at the Port *St Antoine*, and done so many blameable things against the *French* King and Queen, that they no sooner heard

heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now return'd again, having long resolv'd, that our King should never owe any part of his Restitution to any countenance, or assistance, he should receive from *France*; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all Overtures which had concern'd the Duke of *Tork* and the other Lady.

*Both these
designs come
to nothing.*

THERE was, shortly after, an unexpected Accident, that seem'd to make some alteration in the affairs of *Christendom*; which many very reasonably believ'd, might have prov'd advantageous to the King. The Parliament, as soon as they had settled their Common-wealth, and had no Enemy they fear'd, had sent Embassadors to their Sister Republick, the States of the united Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter Alliance with them, and, upon the Matter, to be as one Common-wealth, and to have one Interest. They were receiv'd in *Holland* with all imaginable respect, and as great Expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm Union might be establish'd between the two Common-wealths: and, for the forming thereof, Persons were appointed to treat with the Embassadors; which was look'd upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the Prince of *Orange*, who could have given powerful obstructions in such Cases, was now dead, and all those who adher'd to him, discountenanced, and remov'd from places of trust and power in all the Provinces, and his Son an Infant, born after the Death of his Father, at the Mercy of the States even for his Support; the two Dowagers, his Mother and Grandmother, having great Joyntures out of the Estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the Treaty, *Saint-John*, who had the whole trust of the Embassy, being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confidant of *Cromwell*, pressed such a kind of Union as must disunite them from all their other Allies: so that, for the friendship of *England*, they must lose the friendship of other Princes, and yet lose many other Advantages in Trade, which they enjoy'd, and which they saw the younger and more powerful Common-wealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large Overtures and Concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest Kings, and were willing to quit some Advantages they had enjoyed by all the Treaties with the Crown of *England*, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

*The Parliament sent
Embassadors
to Holland
to invite
them to a
strict Union,
Saint-John
being the
chief.*

BUT this would not satisfy, nor would the Embassadors recede from any particular they had propos'd: so that, after
some

*They return
without any
effect.*

some Months stay, during which time they receiv'd many Affronts from some *English*, and from others, they return'd with great Presents from the States, but without any effect by the Treaty, or entring into any terms of Alliance, and with the extreme indignation of *Saint-John*; which he manifested as soon as he return'd to the Parliament; who disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued (that is, not valued above all the world besides) presently enter'd upon Counsels how they might discountenance and controule the Trade of *Holland*, and encrease their own.

*The Parlia-
ment there-
upon made
the Act of
Navigation.*

HEREUPON they made that Act that "inhibits all Foreign Ships from bringing in any Merchandise or Commodities into *England*, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own Country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such Ships. This indeed concern'd all other Countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all Trade with *Holland*, which had very little Merchandise of the growth of their own Country, but had used to bring in their Ships the growth of all other Kingdoms in the world; Wine from *France* and *Spain*, Spices from the Indies, and all Commodities from all other Countries; which they must now do no more. The *Dutch* Embassadour expostulated this matter very warmly, "as a breach of Commerce and Amity, which could not consist with the Peace between the two Nations; and that his Masters could not look upon it otherwise than as a Declaration of War. The Parliament Answer'd him superciliously, "that his Masters might take it in what manner they pleased; but They knew what was best for their own State, and would not repeal Laws to gratify their Neighbours; and caused the Act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

THE United Provinces now discern'd, that they had help'd to raise an Enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the Infancy of their Republick, and when their Government was manifestly odious to all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and the People generally weary of the Taxes and Impositions upon the Nation for the support of their Land-Armies, the Parliament would venture to increase those Taxes and Impositions proportionably to maintain a new War at Sea, at so vast an Expence, as could not be avoided; and therefore believ'd that they only made shew of this Courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the Spring, They set out a Fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the *English*; who never suspected that the *Dutch* durst enter into a War with them: Besides that they were confi-

dent no such Counsel and Resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first Notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of *Holland*, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expence, but sent out their usual Fleet for the Guard of the Coast at their Season, and with no other Instructions than they had been accustom'd to.

THE Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, which govern'd the Maritime Affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their Instructions to the Admiral *Van Trump*, "that when he met any of the *Englisch* Ships of War, he should not strike to them, nor shew them any other respect than what they receiv'd from them; and if the *Englisch* expostulated the matter, they should answer frankly, that the respect they had formerly shew'd upon those Encounters, was because the Ships were the King's, and for the good intelligence they had with the Crown; but they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration of Government, except there were some Stipulation between them to that purpose: and if this Answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigour. These Instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the *Englisch* Commanders; who had their old Instructions to oblige all Foreign Vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any Nation.

IT was about the beginning of *May* in the year 1652, that the *Dutch* Fleet, consisting of above forty Sail, under the Command of *Van Trump*, rode at Anchor in *Dover* Road, being driven by a strong Wind, as they pretended, from the *Flanders* Coast, when the *Englisch* Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, of a much less Number, appear'd in view; upon which the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea, without striking their Flag; which *Blake* observing, caused three Guns to be fired without any Ball. It was then observ'd, that there was an Express Ketch came, at the very time, from *Holland*, on board their Admiral; and it was then conceiv'd, that he had, by that Express, receiv'd more positive Orders to Fight: for upon the Arrival of that Express, he tackled about, and bore directly towards the *Englisch* Fleet; and the three Guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the Advertisement, he discharged one single Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag; and came up to the *Englisch* Admiral, and gave him a broad side; with which he killed many of his Men, and damaged the Ship. Whereupon, though *Blake* was surpris'd, as not expecting such an Assault, he deserr'd not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both

Fleets

Fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce Encounter ; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the *Dutch*, they lost two Ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the Captains, and near two hundred Prisoners. On the *English* side, there were many slain, and more wounded, but no Ship lost, nor Officer of Name. When the morning appear'd, the *Dutch* were gone to their Coast. And thus the War was enter'd into, before it was suspected in *England*.

*The States
send two Em-
bassadors
into Eng-
land about
it.*

WITH what consideration soever the *Dutch* had Embark'd themselves in this sudden Enterprize, it quickly appear'd they had taken very ill measures of the People's Affections. For the News of this conflict was no sooner arriv'd in *Holland*, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of Men, that can be imagin'd ; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they dispatched two extraordinary Embassadors into *England* ; by whom they protested, "that the late unhappy Engagement between the Fleets of the two Common-wealths, had happen'd without their knowledge, and contrary to the intention of the Lords the States General : that they had receiv'd the fatal tidings of so rash an Attempt, and Action, with amazement, and astonishment ; and that they had immediately enter'd into consultation, how they might best close this fresh bleeding Wound, and to avoid the farther Effusion of Christian blood, so much desired by the Enemies of both States : and therefore they most earnestly desired them, by their mutual concurrence in Religion, and by their mutual love of Liberty, that nothing might be done with passion and heat ; which would widen the breach ; but that they might speedily receive such an Answer, that there might be no farther obstruction to the Trade of both Common-wealths.

*The Parlia-
ment's An-
swer to them.*

To which this Answer was presently return'd to them, "that the civility which they had always shew'd towards the States of the United Provinces, was so notorious, that nothing was more strange than the ill return they had made to them : that the extraordinary preparations, which they had made, of a hundred and fifty Ships, without any apparent necessity, and the Instructions which had been given to their Sea-Officers, had administer'd too much cause to believe, that the Lords the States General of the United Provinces had a purpose to usurp the known Right which the *English* have to the Seas, and to destroy their Fleets ; which, under the protection of the Almighty, are their Walls and Bulwarks ; so that they might be exposed to the invasion of any

"any powerful Enemy: therefore they thought themselves obliged to endeavour, by God's Assistance, to seek reparation for the injuries and damage they had already receiv'd; and to prevent the like for the future: However, they should never be without an intention and desire, that some effectual means might be found to establish a good Peace, Union, and right Understanding, between the two Nations.

WITH this haughty Answer they vigorously prosecuted their revenge, and commanded *Blake* presently to Sail to the Northward: it being then the Season of the year for the great Fisheries of the *Dutch* upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, and the Isles of *Orkney* (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their Trade over *Europe*) where he now found their multitude of fishing Boats, guarded by twelve Ships of War; most of which, with the fish they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize. *Blake sailed their fishing Boats, and their Guard-ships.*

WHEN *Blake* was sent to the North, *St George Aylmer*, being just return'd from the West Indies, was sent with another part of the Fleet to the South; who, at his very going out, met with thirty Sail of their Merchants between *Dover* and *Calais*; a good part whereof he took, or sunk; and forced the rest to run on Shore upon the *French* Coast; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he stood Westward; and near *Plymouth*, with thirty Sail of Men of War, he engaged the whole *Dutch* Fleet, consisting of sixty Ships of War, and thirty Merchants. It was near four of the Clock in the Afternoon when both Fleets began to engage, so that the Night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the *Holland* Ships of War were sunk, and most of the Men lost; the *Dutch* in that Action applying themselves most to spoil the Tackling, and Sails of the *English*; in which they had so good success, that the next Morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired. But no day pass'd without the taking and bringing in many and valuable *Dutch* Ships into the Ports of *England*, which, having begun their Voyages before any notice given to them of the War, were making hast home without any fear of their Security: so that, there being now no hope of a Peace by the mediation of their Embassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they propos'd, they return'd; and the War was proclaim'd on either side, as well as prosecuted. *St G. Aylmer takes or sinks 30 Sail of their Merchants: fight the Dutch Fleet near Plymouth.*

THE King thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this War, so briskly enter'd upon on both sides; and when he had sate still till the return of the *Dutch* Embassadors from *London*, and that all Treaties were given over, he believ'd it might contribute to his

ends, if he made a Journey into *Holland*, and made such Propositions upon the place as he might be advised to : but when his Majesty imparted this design to his Friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither ; and assured, " that it was so far from " being yet seasonable, that it would more advance a Peace " than any thing else that could be proposed ; and would, for " the present, bring the greatest prejudice to his Sister, and to " the affairs of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that could " be imagin'd.

THE King hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The *Dutch* Embassadour then resident at *Paris*, Monsieur *Borrel*, who had been Pensioner of *Amsterdam*, was very much devoted to the King's Service, having been formerly Embassadour in *England*, and had always dependance upon the Princes of *Orange* successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; who visited him constantly once a Week, and receiv'd Advertisements, and Advices from him, and the Embassadour frequently came to His Lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor, and enjoying them secrecy, caused a Paper to be drawn up ; in which he declared, " that he had very good reason to believe, that there were many Officers and Sea-men " engaged in the Service of the *English* Fleet, who undertook that Service in hope to find a good opportunity to serve his Majesty ; and that, if the *Dutch* were willing to receive him, he would immediately put himself on board their Fleet, without requiring any Command, except of such Ships only, as, upon their notice of his being there, should repair to him out of the Rebels Fleet : by this means, he presumed, " he should be able much to weaken their Naval power, " and to raise Divisions in the Kingdom, by which the *Dutch* would receive benefit and advantage. Having sign'd this Paper, he sent the Chancellor with it open, to shew to the *Dutch* Embassadour, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his Letter to the States. The Embassadour was very much surpris'd with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advis'd it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his Affection to the King, and for his dependance upon the House of *Orange*. In the end, he desired " the King would inclose it in a Letter to him, and " oblige him to send it to the States General : which was done accordingly ; and he sent it by the Post to the States.

THE War had already made the Councils of the States less united than they had been, and the Party that was known

The King in
Paris propos-
ed to Mon-
sieur Borrel
the Dutch
Embassadour
that he
would join
his Interest
with theirs

to be inclined to the Prince of *Orange*, recover'd courage, and joy'n'd with those who were no Friends to the War; and, when this Message from the King was read, magnified the King's Spirit in making this Overture, and wish'd that an Answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgement might be return'd to his Majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that might abate the pride and power of the Enemy: and as soon as the People heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the King's Offer. *De Wit*, who was Pensioner of *Holland*, and had the greatest influence upon their Counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the King; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of *Orange*; to whom he was an avow'd and declar'd Enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous offer of the King; but if they should accept it, they could never recede from his Interest; which, instead of putting an end to the War, of which they were already weary, would make it without end, and would be the ruin of their State: that, whilst they were free from being engaged in any Interest but their own, they might reasonably hope that both sides would be equally weary of the War, and then a Peace would easily ensue; which they should otherwise put out of their own power; so that thanks were return'd to the King for his good Will; and they pursued their own method in their Counsels, and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a Peace upon any conditions.

*Thanks were
return'd to the
King by the
States, but
his proposal
laid aside.*

NOR can it appear very wonderful, that the *Dutch* made shew of so much hesme in this Affair, when the very cholour and pride of the *French* was, about the same time, so humbled by the Spirit of the *English*, that, though they took their Ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole Fleet that was going to the relief of *Dunkirk* (that was then closely besieged by the *Spaniards*, and by the taking that Fleet, was deliver'd into their hands) yet the *French* would not be provok'd to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the King; but sent an Embassadour, which they had not before done, to expostulate very civilly with the Parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in truth to desire their Friendship upon what terms they land pleased; the Cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the *Spaniards* would make such a conjunction with the new Commonwealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

*The English
seize on a
French
Fleet going
to the relief
of Dunkirk.
The French
send an Embassadour in-
to Eng-*

THE insupportable losses which the *Dutch* every day sustain'd by the taking their Merchant's Ships, and their Ships of War, and the total obstruction of their Trade, broke their hearts, and encreased their factions and divisions at home. All

In February
Blake
engaged the
Dutch
Fleet; who
are beaten.

the Seas were cover'd with the *English* Fleets; which made no distinctions of Seasons, but were as active in the Winter as the Summer: and engaged the *Dutch* upon any inequality of Number. The *Dutch* having been beaten in the Month of *October*, and *Blake* having receiv'd a brush from them in the Month of *December*, in the Month of *February*, the most dangerous season of the Year, They, having appointed a Rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty Merchant Men, sent a Fleet of above one hundred Sail of Men of War to convoy them; and *Blake*, with a Fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp Battle from Noon till the Night parted them: which dispos'd them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the Morning, they found that the *English* had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand Men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their Merchant Men to the *English*, that they might make their flight the more securely.

The Dutch
sent again to
the Parliam-
ents for
Peace.

Cromwell
never zealous
for this
war with
the Dutch,
but govern'd
in it by
Saint-
John.

THIS last loss made them send again to the Parliament to desire a Peace; who rejected the Overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable Peace) the Address being made only by the States of *Holland*, and *West-Friesland*, the States General being at that time not Assembled. It was generally believ'd, that this Address from *Holland* was not only with the Approbation, but by the direction of *Cromwell*; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that War, to gratify *Saint-John* (who was inseparable from him in all his other Counsels, and was incens'd by the *Dutch*) than approv'd the Resolution. And now he found, by the expence of the Engagements had already pass'd on both sides, what an insupportable Charge that War must be attended with. Besides, he well discern'd that all Parties, Friends and Foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the War; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expence might make it necessary to disband a great part of the Land Army (of which there appear'd no use) to support the Navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he Authority to place his own Creatures there, all the Officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the Parliament: So that when this Address was made by the *Dutch*, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a Treaty thereupon enter'd into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deserv'd not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parliament

Parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

THOUGH *Cromwell* was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the Authority of the Parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two Kingdoms, more fear'd, and more obey'd, than any King had ever been; and all the Dominions belonging to the Crown, own'd no other subjection than to the Common-wealth of *England*. The Isles of *Guernsey* *Guernsey* *sey*, and *Jersey*, and *Scilly*, were reduced; the former presently after the Battle of *Worcester*; and the other, after the King's return to *Paris*; *St George Carteret* having well defended *Jersey* as long as he could, and being so overpower'd that he could no longer defend the *Island*, he retired into *Castle Elizabeth*; which he had fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a Siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord *Fermyn*, who was Governour thereof, he should receive Supplies of Men and Provision, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the Parliament by Sea, or Land. But it had been the principal reason that *Cromwell* had hitherto kept the better Quarter with the Cardinal, lest the bait of those two Islands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his Majesty any Assistance. But the King was so strict and punctual in his care of the Interest of *England*, when he seem'd to be abandon'd by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into *Cromwell's* power, than to deposite them, upon any conditions, into *French* hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they enter'd into.

WHEN that Castle had been besieged three Months, and the Enemy could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than, at least, half an *English* Mile, the Sea encompassing it round more than so far from any Land, and it not being possible for any of their Ships to come within such a distance, they brought notwithstanding Mortar pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the Hill, near *St Hilary's*, they shot Granadoes of a vast bigness into the Castle, and beat down many Houses; and, at last, blow'd up a great Magazine, where most of the provisions of Victuals lay; and kill'd many Men. Upon which *St George Carteret* sent an Express to give the King an Account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of Men and Provisions; which it being impossible for his Majesty to procure, he sent him Orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did;

and came himself to *Paris*, to give the King a larger information of all that had passed in that Affair; and afterwards remain'd in *France* under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of *Cromwell*, till the King's happy Restoration.

*The Foreign
Plantations
also were
subdued.*

ALL the Forreign Plantations had submitted to the Yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having Citizens and inferior Persons put to Govern them, instead of Gentlemen, who had been entrusted by the King in those places. *New-England* had been too much Allied to all the Conspiracies and Combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that Men of their own Principles prevail'd; and settled a Government themselves were delighted with. The *Barbadoes*, which was much the Richest Plantation, was principally Inhabited by Men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in *England*, and without any ill thoughts towards the King; many of them having serv'd him with Fidelity and Courage, during the War; and, that being ended, made that *Island* their Refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good Estates there (as it is incredible to what fortunes Men rais'd themselves in few years, in that Plantation) they were more willing to live in Subjection to that Government at that distance, than to return into *England*, and be liable to the Penalties of their former Transgressions; which, upon the Articles of Surrender, they were indemnified for: Nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governour there by the King's Commission) and putting an inferior mean Man in his place.

*The Barbadoes
does deliver'd up.*

MORE was expected from *Virginia*; which was the most Ancient Plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend it self, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in *St. William Berkley*, the Governour thereof, who had industriously invited many Gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of Security, which he could defend against any Attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many Persons of Condition, and good Officers in the War, had Transported themselves, with all the Estates they had been able to preserve; with which the honest Governour, for no Man meant better, was so confirm'd in his confidence, that he writ to the King almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the Parliament had nothing else to do, that Plantation in a short time was more improv'd in People and Stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the *Indians* to very good Neighbourhood. But, alas! they

they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employ'd in the making the best Advantage of their particular Plantations, without assigning time or Men to provide for the Publick Security in building Forts, or any places of Retreat, that there no sooner appear'd two or three Ships from the Parliament than all thoughts of Resistance were laid aside. *And Virginia.* *Sr William Berkeley*, the Governour, was suffer'd to remain there as a Private Man, upon his own Plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continu'd, by the Reputation he had with the People, till upon the noise and fame of the King's Restoration, he did as quietly resume the Exercise of his former Commission, and found as ready an Obedience. About this time also, *Sally*, which had been vigorously defended by *Sr John Grenvill*; till it wanted all things, was deliver'd up to *Sr George Ayscue*.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the Affairs of *Scotland* (which will be part of the Argument of the next Book) where *Montrose* for the present Govern'd with a Rod of Iron, and at last found no contradiction, or opposition to his good Will and Bleasure. In *Ireland*; it that People had not been prepar'd and ripe for destruction, there had happen'd an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and dispos'd the Nation to have shak'd themselves under their new Deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of Obedience. Shortly after this departure of the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Cromwell's* Deputy, *Ireton*, who had married his Daughter; died in *Limerick* of the Plague; which was gotten into his Army, that was so much weaken'd by it, and there were so great factions and Divisions among the Officers, after his suddain death; that great Advantages might have been gotten by it. His Authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the Civil, as well as Martial Affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no Man had Authority to take the Command upon him, till *Cromwell's* Pleasure was farther known; who put the Charge of the Army under *Ludlow*, a Man of a very different Temper from the other; but appointed the Civil Government to run in another Channel, so that there remain'd jealousy and discontent enough still between the Council and the Officers to have shaken a Government that was yet no better establish'd.

Ireton died in Limerick of the Plague.

Ludlow succeeds him in the charge of the Army.

IRETON, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholick, reserv'd, dark Nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the

The Character of Ireton.

most part, he resolv'd alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over *Cromwell* himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserv'd in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always conceal'd and disavow'd. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceiv'd by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that *Ireton* was a Man so radically averse from Monarchy, and so fixt to a Republick Government; that, if he had liv'd, he would either, by his Counsel and Credit, have prevented those excesses in *Cromwell*, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwell*, who best knew his Nature, and his Temper, had therefore carried him into *Ireland*, and left him there, that he might be without his Counsels or Importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his Mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards Civil Affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that Government, which his heart was set upon (being a Scholar, conversant in the Law, and in all those Authors who had expressed the greatest Animosity and Malice against the Regal Government) than for the Conduct of an Army to support it; his Personal Courage being never reckon'd among his other Abilities.

The ill condition of the Marquis of Clanrickard's affairs in Ireland.

WHAT Influence soever his Life might have had upon the future Transactions, certain it is, his Death had none upon the State of *Ireland* to the King's Advantage. The Marquis of *Clanrickard* left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength, and power of the *Irish* Nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the King's Government. He sent out his Orders and Warrants for the Levying of new Men, and to draw the old Troops together, and to raise Money: but few Men could be got together, and when they were Assembled, they could not stay together for want of Money to pay them: so that he could never get a Body together to march towards the Enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appear'd, that they had made those ample Vows and Protestations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the Popish Clergy, and all the *Irish* of *Ulster*, had no mind to have any relation to the *English* Nation, and as little

little to return to their Obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the Nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some Foreign Prince to take them into his Protection. They first chose a Committee, *Plunket* and *Brown*, two Lawyers, who had been eminent Conductors of the Rebellion from the beginning, and Men of good Parts, and joyn'd others with them, who were in *France* and *Flanders*. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to send these Gentlemen into *Flanders* "to invite the Duke of *Lor-* The Rebels refused to invite the Duke of Lorraine thither :
 " *raine* to assist them with Armes, Money, and Ammunition,
 " undertaking to have good Intelligence from thence, that the
 " Duke (who was known to wish well to the King) was well
 " prepared to receive their desire, and resolv'd, out of his
 " Affection to the King, to engage himself cordially in the de-
 " fence of that Catholick Kingdom, his Zeal to that Religion
 " being known to be very great.

THE Marquis of *Claunrickard* had no opinion of the Expedient, or that the Duke would engage himself on the behalf of a People who had so little Reputation in the World, and therefore refused to give any Commission to those Gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the King's Order, or at least the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was known to be safely arriv'd in *France*. But that was look'd upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence, and information of the Duke of *Lorraine's* being willing to undertake their Relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the Libels, and Scandals, and Declarations, which had been published against the Marquis of *Ormond*, were now renew'd, with equal Malice and Virulency, against the Marquis of *Claunrickard*; and they declared, " that God would
 " never bless his wither'd hand, which had always concurr'd
 " with *Ormond* in the Prosecution, and Persecution of the Ca-
 " tholicks Confederates from the beginning of their Engage-
 " ment for the defence of their Religion; and that he had
 " still had more conversation with Hereticks than with Ca-
 " tholicks: that he had refused always to submit to the Pope's
 " Authority; and had treated his Nuncio with less respect
 " than was due from any good Catholick; and that all the Ca-
 " tholicks who were cherished or countenanced by him, were
 " of the same Faction. In the end, he could no longer resist the importunity of the Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks (which was again brought together) and of the Bishops and Clergy that govern'd the other; but gave his consent to send the same Persons they recommended to him; and gave them his Credentials to the Duke of *Lorraine*; but required them " punctually to observe his own Instructions,
 " and

“and not to presume to depart from them in the least degree. Their Instructions were, “to give the Marquis of Ormond notice of their Arrival; and to shew him their Instructions; and to conclude nothing without his positive Advice; who, he well knew, would communicate all with the Queen; and that likewise, “when they came into Flanders, they should advise with such of the King’s Council as should be there, and proceed in all things as they should direct.

Commissioners sent to him to Brussels.

WHAT Instructions soever the Lord Deputy prescribed to them, the Commissioners receiv’d others from the Council and Assembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolv’d to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of Lorraine to take them into his Protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the Kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of Ormond; but prosecuted their journey to Brussels, and made their Address, with all secrecy, to the Duke of Lorraine. There were, at the same time, at Antwerp, the Marquis of New-Castle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (who was newly return’d from his Embassy in Spain) and Secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the King’s Council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the Duke of York, during this time, passed through Brussels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their Negotiations to his Highness.

The Duke sends an Abbot into Ireland to be inform’d of the State of it.

THE Duke of Lorraine had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was sure, there wanted no Men to make Armies enough, which he thought were not like to want Courage to defend their Country and Religion. And the Commissioners very frankly offer’d “to deliver up Galloway, and all the places which were in their possession, into his hands, with the remainder of the Kingdom, as soon as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely, as their Prince. But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appear’d to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discover’d much of his Affection to the King, and his resolution “not to accept any thing that was propos’d, “without his Majesty’s privy and full approbation. But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the Abbot of St Catharine’s a Lorrainer, and a Person principally trusted by him, as his Embassador into Ireland, to be inform’d of the true State of that Kingdom, and what real strength the Confederate Catholicks were possess’d of, and at what Unity among themselves. With him he sent about

about three or four thousand Pistoles, to supply their present Necessities, and some Armes and Ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as the King's Governour, and the Person by whose Authority all those Propositions had been made to him by the Commissioners.

THE Abbot upon his Arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the Commissioners had propos'd or offer'd; and would by no means so much as enter upon any Treaty with him; but disavow'd all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a Protestation, "that he would cause their heads to be cut off, if they return'd, or came into his hands." And the Marquis did, at the same time, write very Large Letters, both to the King, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, "that they might be imprison'd, and kept till they might undergo a just Tryal."

As the Marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the Catholick Nobility, and even some of their Clergy, who never intended to withdraw their Loyalty from the Crown of *England*, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the *Irish* Nation, but those of *Ulster*, who were of the old Septs; were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be deliver'd presently up into the possession of a Foreign Prince; upon whose good nature only; it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the King. It was now time for the Popish Bishops, and their Confederates; to make good what had been offer'd by the Commissioners with their Authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the Lord Deputy, "to confirm what had been offer'd, as the only visible means to preserve the Nation, and Root out of which the King's Right might again spring and grow up: and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give Audience to the Embassadors, and remov'd from the place where they were, to his own House and Castle at *Portumny*, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced own'd all that the Commissioners had propounded, "as done by their Order, who could make it good; and desired the Embassador "to enter into a Treaty with them; and declar'd "that they would sign such Articles, with which the Duke of *Lorraine* should be well satisfied. They undervalued the power of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as not able to oppose any agreement

ment they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their Assistance.

THE Embassadour was a wise Man, and of slegme enough ; and though he heard all they would say, and receiv'd any Propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discern'd, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjoyned among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose ; and excused himself from entring upon any new Treaty with them, as having no Commission to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, " he would deliver all that they had, or " would propose to him, to the Duke his Master ; who, he " presumed, would speedily return his Answer, and proceed " with their Commissioners in such a manner as would be " grateful to them. So he return'd in the same Ship that brought him, and gave the Duke such an Account of his Voyage, and that People, that put an end to that Negotiation ; which had been enter'd into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that Prince was accusom'd to use.

*the Abbot
returns to
the Duke ;
whereupon
the Duke
gives over
the Negotia-
tion.*

WHEN the Embassadour was gone, they prosecuted the Deputy, with all Reproaches of betraying and ruining his Country ; and had several designs upon his Person, and communicated whatever Attempt was resolv'd to the Enemy : yet there were many of the Nobility and Gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully ; which defended his Person from any Violence they intended against him, but could not secure him, against their Acts of Treachery, nor keep his Counsels from being betray'd. After the Defeat of *Worcester* was known and publish'd, they less consider'd all they did ; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seem'd most probable to him ; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged " the " necessity of uniting themselves for the publick safety, which " was desperate any other way : whilst in truth every Man was negotiating for his own indemnity with *Ludlow* (who commanded the *English*) or for leave to transport Regiments ; which kept the Soldiers together, as if they had been the Deputy's Army.

*The Lord
Clanrick-
ard discovers
a correspo-
ndence ma-
naged by a
Fryar be-
tween the
Popish Irish
Clergy and
Ludlow.*

THE Deputy had a suspicion of a Fellow, who was observ'd every day to go out, and return'd not till the next ; and appointed an Officer of trust, with some Horse, to watch him, and search him ; which they did ; and found about him a Letter, which contain'd many Reproaches against the Marquis, and the Intelligence of many particulars ; which the Messenger was carrying to *Ludlow*. It was quickly discover'd that

that the Letter was written by one Father *Cobogan*, a Franciscan Fryar in *Galloway*; where the Deputy then was; but much of the Intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The Deputy caused the Fryar to be imprison'd, and resolv'd to proceed exemplarily against him; after he had first discover'd his Complices. The Fryar confessed the Letter to be of his writing, but refused to Answer to any other Question; and demanded his Privilege of a Church-Man, and not to be tried by the Deputy's Order. The Conclusion was, the Popish Bishops caused him to be taken out of the Prison; and sent to the Deputy, "that if he would send to them his Evidence against the Fryar, who was an Ecclesiastical Person, they would take care that justice should be done."

THIS Proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he should not be able to do the King any Service in that Company; nor durst he stay longer in that Town, lest they should make their own Peace by delivering up him and the Town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he remov'd from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betray'd; and sometimes without any Accommodations: so that, not having been accustom'd to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he receiv'd Commands from the King. For as soon as he had Advertisement of the King's Arrival at *Paris*, and it was very evident by the behaviour of the *Irish*, that they would be no more applied to the King's Service under his Command than under the Marquis of *Ormond's*, he sent the Earl of *Castlehaven* (who had been formerly a General of the Confederate Catholics, and remain'd with great constancy with the Marquis of *Clawrickard*, as long as there was any hope) to the King, with so particular an account, under his own hand of all that had passed, from the time that he had receiv'd his Commission from the Marquis of *Ormond*, that it even contain'd almost a Diary, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the *Irish*, of their Overtures to the Duke of *Lorrains*, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any Man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the Marquis, his Nature, and his custom of Living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholick; and desired his Majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a Pass to go into *England*; where he had some Estate of his own, and many Friends, who would not suffer him to starve; which his Majesty made hast to send to him, with as

great

great a Testimony of his gracious Acceptation of his Service, and Affection, as his singular merit destroy'd.

• *The Marquis gets a Pass from Ludlow, and goes into England, and dies within a year.*

THEREUPON the Marquis sent to Ludlow for a Pass to go into *England*, and render himself to the Parliament; which he presently sent him; and so the Marquis Transported himself to *London*; where he was civilly treated by all Men, as a Man who had many Friends, and could have no Enemies but those who could not be Friends to any. But by the Infirmities he had contracted in *Ireland*, by those severe fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he liv'd not to the end of a year; and had resolv'd, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have Transported himself to the King, and attended his Fortune. He left behind him so full a Relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that Rebellion, as during the time of his own Administration, that I have been the less particular in the Accounts of what passed in the Transactions of that Kingdom, presuming that more exact work of His will, in due time, be communicated to the World.

THE Affairs of the three Nations being in this posture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new Accidents, and Alterations of a very extraordinary Nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of Success, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from those Emotions, We shall here conclude this Book, and reserve the other for the Next.

THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K XIV.

Job xx, 19, 22.

*Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the Poor ;
because he hath violently taken away an House
which he built not :*

*In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in streights ;
every band of the wicked shall come upon him.*

Job xxvii. 15.

*Those that remain of him shall be buried in death, and
his Widows shall not weep.*

HAD not God reserv'd the Deliverance and Restoration of the King to Himself, and resolv'd to accomplish it when there appear'd least hope of it, and least Worldly means to bring it to pass ; there happen'd at this time another very great Alteration in *England*, that, together with the continuance of the War with *Holland*, and Affronts every day offer'd to *France*, might very reasonably have administer'd great hopes to the King of a speedy change of Government there. From the time of the defeat at *Worcester*, and the reduction of *Scotland* and *Ireland* to perfect Obedience, *Cromwell* did not find the Parliament so supple to observe his Orders, as he expected they would have been. The Presbyterian Party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his Army of the Independent Party, were bold in contradicting him in the House, and crossing all his designs in the City, and exceedingly inveigh'd against the Licence that was practiced in Religion, by the several Factions of Independents, Anabaptists,

and the several Species of these; who condemn'd all Magistrates, and the Laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, *Cromwell* cherish'd and protected, that he might not be overrun by the Presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seem'd to shew much respect to some principal Preachers of that Party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in Religion might be compos'd.

THOUGH he had been forward enough to enter upon the War of *Holland*, that so there might be no Proposition made for the Disbanding any part of his Army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expence of it was so great, that the Nation could never bear that addition of burthen to the other of Land Forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the Parliament so fierce for the carrying on that War, that they would not hearken to any reasonable Conditions of Peace; which the *Dutch* appear'd most solicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own Party of Independents, and other Sectaries, had contracted against him: That Party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved *Vane*, thought his Power and Authority to be too great for a Common-wealth, and that He, and his Army, had not dependence enough upon, or submission to the Parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring Him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his Power and Authority must quickly be attended with. He observ'd, that those his old Friends very frankly united themselves with His and Their old Enemies, the Presbyterians, for the prosecution of the War with *Holland*, and obstructing all the Overtures towards Peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the Stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the Kingdom.

*Cromwell
erects ano-
ther Council
of Officers;
who exposit-
late with the
Parliament
about their
Arrears, and
their own
Dissolution.*

IN this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his Army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the Style, first, of Petitions, and then of Remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the Army; used great importunity for "the Arrears of their pay; that they might not be compell'd to take free Quarter upon their fellow Subjects, who already paid so great Contributions and Taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, would abundantly defray all the Charges of the War, and of the Government. The sharp Answers the Parliament gave to their Addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the Army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some

former professions they had made, "that they would be glad
 "to be eased of the Burthen of their employment; and that
 "there might be successive Parliaments to undergo the same
 "trouble They had done. They therefore desired them, "that
 "they would remember how many years they had sat; and
 "though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury
 "to the rest of the Nation, to be utterly excluded from bear-
 "ing any part in the Service of their Country, by their in-
 "grossing the whole power into Their hands; and thereupon
 "besought them, that they would settle a Council for the ad-
 "ministration of the Government during the Interval, and
 "then dissolve themselves, and Summon a new Parliament;
 "which, they told them, "would be the most popular Acti-
 "on they could perform.

THESE Addresses in the Name of the Army, being confi-
 dently deliver'd by some Officers of it, and as confidently se-
 conded by others who were Members of the House, it was
 thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn Debate, The Parlia-
 to the end that when the Parliament had declared its resolu- ments debate
 tion and determination, all Persons might be obliged to ac- quiesce about the pe-
 quiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all Ad- riod of these
 dresses of that kind. sitting.

THERE were many Members of the House, who either
 from the justice and reason of the Request, or seasonably to
 comply with the sense of the Army, to which they foresaw
 they should be at last compelled to submit, seem'd to think it
 necessary, for abating the great Envy, which was confessedly
 against the Parliament throughout the Kingdom, that they
 should be dissolv'd, to the end the People might make a new
 Election of such Persons as they thought fit to trust with their
 Liberty and Property, and whatsoever was dearest to them.
 But Mr *Martyn* told them, "that he thought they might find Harry Mar-
 "the best Advice from the Scripture, what they were to do ty'n's Ap-
 "in this particular: that When *Moses* was found upon the plication of
 "River, and brought to *Pharaoh's* Daughter, she took care that the story of
 "the Mother might be found out, to whose care he might be Moses is
 "committed to be nursed; which succeeded very happily. the purpose.
 He said, "their Common-wealth was yet an Infant, of a weak
 "growth, and a very tender constitution; and therefore his
 "opinion was, that no body could be so fit to nurse it, as the
 "Mother who brought it forth; and that they should not
 "think of putting it under any other hands, until it had ob-
 "tained more years and vigour. To which he added, "that
 "they had another Infant too under their hands, the War with
 "*Holland*, which had thrived wonderfully under their Conduct
 "but he much doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if
 "it were taken out of their care who had hitherto govern'd it.

The Parliament determin'd, that they would not yet think of Dissolving.

THESE Reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determin'd, that the Parliament would not yet think of Dissolving, nor would take it well, that any Persons should take the presumption any more to make Overtures to them of that Nature, which was not fit for private and particular Persons to meddle with: and to put a Seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a Committee "speedily to prepare an Act of Parliament for the filling up of their House; and by which, "it should be declared to be High Treason, for any Man to "propose, or contrive the changing of the present Government settled, and established.

THIS Bill being prepared by the Committee, they resolv'd to pass it with all possible expedition. So *Cromwell* clearly discern'd, that by this means they would never be perswaded to part with that Authority and Power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the Army declared they were not satisfied with the Determination, and continued their Applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the House; and did all they could to infuse the same Spirit into all the parts of the Kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and *Cromwell* was well pleased that the Parliament should express as much prejudice against the Army.

Cromwell and his Officers dissolve the Parliament.

ALL things being thus prepared, *Cromwell* thought this a good season to expose these Enemies of Peace to the indignation of the Nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the War, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eas'd of the greatest part of their Contributions, and other Impositions: thereupon, having adjust'd all things with the Chief Officers of the Army, who were at his Devotion, in the Month of *April*, that was in the year 1653, he came into the House of Parliament in a Morning when it was sitting, attended with the Officers, who were likewise Members of the House, and told them "that he came thither to put an "end to their Power and Authority; which they had managed so ill, that the Nation could be no otherwise preserv'd "than by their Dissolution; which he advis'd them, without "farther Debate, quietly to submit unto.

THEREUPON another Officer, with some Files of Musketeers, enter'd into the House, and stay'd there till all the Members walk'd out; *Cromwell* reproaching many of the Members by Name, as they went out of the House, with their Vices and Corruptions, and amongst the rest, *Sr Harry Vane* with his breach of Faith and Corruption; and having given the Mace to an Officer to be safely kept, he caused the Doors to be lock'd up; and so dissolv'd that Assembly, which had

had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose Name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three Kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or Precedent in the Christian World that could raise his Ambition to such a presumptuous Undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendship of one Man who had any other Interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the War.

WHEN He had thus prosperously passed this *Robinson*, he lost no time in publishing a Declaration of the grounds and reasons of his Proceeding, for the satisfaction of the People: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculously God had appear'd for them in reducing *Ireland* and *Scotland* to so great a degree of Peace, and *England* to a perfect quiet, whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the People the harvest of all their Labour, Blood, and Treasure, and to settle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and Spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their Duty, and those great and wonderful things God had wrought for them. But that they had made so little progress towards this good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good People of the land, who had thereupon apply'd themselves to the Army, expecting Redress by their means; who, being very unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority, thought fit that some Officers, who were Members of the Parliament, should move, and desire the Parliament to proceed vigorously in informing what was amiss in the Commonwealth; and in settling it upon a Foundation of Justice and Righteousness: that they found this, and some other Endeavours they had used, produced no good effect, but rather an averseness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and aversion to the People of God, and his Spirit acting in them: inasmuch as the Godly Party in the Army was now become of no other Use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt Party, that desired to perpetuate themselves in the supreme Government of the Nation: that, for the obviating those Evils, the Officers of the Army had obtain'd several meetings with some Members of the Parliament, to consider what remedies might properly be apply'd; but that it appear'd very evident unto them, that the Parliament, by want of Attendance of many of their Members, and want of Integrity in others who did attend, would never answer those ends, which God, his People, and the whole Nation, expected from them; but that this Cause, which God had so greatly blessed, must needs languish under their hands; and by degrees be lost, and the Lives, Liberties, and Com-
forts of his People, be deliver'd into their Enemies hands.

" All which being seriously and sadly consider'd by the honest
 " People of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it seem'd a
 " Duty incumbent upon them, who had seen so much of the
 " power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual
 " means, whereby to establish Righteousness and Peace in
 " these Nations: that, after much Debate, it had been judg-
 " ed necessary, that the supreme Government should be, by
 " the Parliament, devolv'd for a time upon known Persons,
 " fearing God, and of approv'd Integrity, as the most hope-
 " ful way to countenance all God's People, preserve the Law,
 " and administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby, that Peo-
 " ple might forget Monarchy, and understand their true In-
 " terest in the election of successive Parliaments, and so the
 " Government might be settled upon a right basis, without
 " hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessity to keep up Ar-
 " mies for the defence thereof: that being resolv'd, if possi-
 " ble, to decline all extraordinary Courses, they had prevailed
 " with about twenty Members of the Parliament to give them
 " a conference; with whom they debated the justice and ne-
 " cessity of that Proposition; but found them of so contrary
 " an opinion, that they insisted upon the continuance of the
 " present Parliament, as it was then constituted, as the only
 " way to bring those good things to pass which they seem'd
 " to desire: that they insisted upon this with so much vehe-
 " mence, and were so much transported with passion, that
 " they caus'd a Bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this
 " Parliament, and investing the supreme power in themselves.
 " And for the preventing the consummation of this Act, and
 " all the sad and evil consequences, which, upon the grounds
 " thereof, must have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the
 " Interest of all honest Men, and of this glorious Cause, had
 " been in danger to be laid in the dust, they had been necessi-
 " tated (though with much repugnance) to put an end to the
 " Parliament.

THERE needs not be any other description of the temper
 of the Nation at that time, than the remembering that the dis-
 solution of that Body of Men, who had reign'd so long over
 the three Nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable
 to the People, how unusual soever the circumstances thereof
 had been; and that this Declaration, which was not only
 subscribed by *Cromwell*, and his Council of Officers, but was
 own'd by the Admirals at Sea, and all the Captains of Ships,
 and by the Commanders of all the Land Forces in *England*,
Scotland, and *Ireland*, was look'd upon as very reasonable;
 and the Declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the Peo-
 ple were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit
 themselves to the Government of the Council of State, which
 should

should be nominated by the General, until such a time as a Parliament, consisting of Persons of approv'd fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the Government of those Nations, found an equal submission, and obedience.

THE Method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a Government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous Confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to Authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of Men so well chosen, that they should shortly after delegate the power in form of Law to him for the preservation of the Nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what *Seneca* said of *Pompey*, "that he had brought the People of *Rome* to that pass, by magnifying their power and authority, *ut salvis esse non possit nisi beneficio servitutis*. And if *Cromwell* had not now made himself a Tyrant, all Bonds being broken, and the universal Guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King's obedience, they must have perish'd together in such a confusion, as would rather have expos'd them as a Prey to Forreigners, than dispos'd them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no Man that durst mention the King, or the old form of Government.

It was upon the twentieth of *April* that the Parliament had been dissolv'd; and though *Cromwell* found that the People were satisfied in it, and the Declaration publish'd thereupon, yet he knew; it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the Government, than the Council of Officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other Notions of a Republick than he was willing *England* should be brought to. A Parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other Assembly of Men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into, was like to teach the next to behave it self with more discretion. However the Ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the Election of them to the humour and inclination of the People.

He resolv'd therefore to choose them himself, that he might with the more Justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the Advice of his Council of Officers, for he made yet no other Council of State, he made choice of a number of Men consisting of above one hundred Persons, who should meet as a Parliament to settle the Government of the Nation. It can hardly be believ'd that so wild a Notion should fall into any Man's imagination, that such a People should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their Actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet upon the view and consideration

*Cromwell
and his Offi-
cers choose a
Parliament.*

deration of the Persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; and "though he communicated it with no Man that was known, "concluded it the most natural way to ripen, and produce "the Effects, it did afterwards, to the end he propos'd to "himself.

*Conditions
and Quali-
ties of the
Persons no-
minated.*

THERE were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the Major part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality, or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their gifts in Praying and Preaching; which was now practiced by all degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgement made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament it self was afterwards denominated, who was *Praise-God* (that was his Christian Name) *Barebone*, a Leather-seller in *Fleet-street*, from whom (he being an eminent Speaker in it) it was afterwards call'd *Praise-God Barebone's* Parliament. In a word they were generally a pack of weak senseless Fellows, fit only to bring the Name, and Reputation of Parliaments, lower than it was yet.

*From one of
the Members,
who was
nick-named
Praise-God
Barebone's
Parliament.*

*Cromwell
calls them
together by
his own war-
rants so meet
July 4.*

IT was fit these new Men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for *Cromwell* by his Warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "of the necessity of dissolving the late Parliament, and of an "equal necessity, that the Peace, Safety, and good Govern- "ment of the Common-wealth should be provided for, and "therefore that he had, by the Advice of his Council of Of- "ficers, nominated divers Persons fearing God, and of ap- "prov'd fidelity and honesty, to whom the great Charge and "Trust of so weighty Affairs was to be committed, and that "having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, "and the Interest of his Cause, and the good People of this "Common-wealth; he concluded in these words, "I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General and Commander in Chief of all "the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd within this Common- "wealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to "be, and appear at the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*, upon "the fourth day of *July* next, then and there to take upon "you the said Trust. And you are hereby call'd, and ap- "pointed to serve as a Member of the County of *Essex*. Upon this wild Summons, the Persons so nominated appear'd at the Council-Chamber upon the fourth of *July*, which was near three Months after the Dissolution of the former Parliament.

CROMWELL

CROMWELL with his Council of Officers was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of ^{Cromwell} God, and the honour due to his Name, full of Texts of Scripture; and remember'd "the wonderful Mercies of God ^{to} to this Nation, and the continued Series of Providence, ^{of them, and de-} by which he had appear'd in carrying on his Cause, and ^{livers them} bringing Affairs into that present glorious Condition, where- ^{an Instru-} in they now were. He put them in mind of "the noble ^{ment for} Actions of the Army in the famous Victory of *Worcester*, of "the Applications they had made to the Parliament, for a "good settlement of all the Affairs of the Common-wealth, "the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve "it. He assured them by many Arguments, some of which were urged out of Scripture, "that they had a very lawful "Call to take upon them the supreme Authority of the Na- "tion, and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great "tenderness might be used towards all Conscientious Persons, "of what judgement soever they appear'd to be.

WHEN he had finished his discourse, he deliver'd to them an Instrument engrossed in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve, and intrust the supreme Authority of this Common-wealth into the hands of those Persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them were "to be held and acknowledged the supreme Authority of the "Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Ter- "ritories thereunto belonging, were to yield Obedience and "Subjection to the third day of the Month of *November*, "which should be in the year 1654, which was about a year and three Months from the time that he spoke to them; and three Months before the time prescrib'd should expire, they were to make choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide, and take care for a like Succession in the Government. Being thus invested with this Authority, they repair'd to the Parliament House, and made choice of one *Rouse* to be their Speaker, an old Gentleman of *Devon-shire*, who had been a Member of the former Parlia- ^{They repair} ment, and in that time been prefer'd and made Provost of ^{to the Par-} the College of *Eton*, which Office he then enjoy'd, with an ^{liament} opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek ^{House, and} Tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly ^{choos't Rouse} engaged in the Guilt of the Times. ^{their Speak-}

AT their first coming together, some of them had the Modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the Style and Title of a Parliament. But that Modesty was quickly subdued, and they

*They assume
the Name of
a Parlia-
ment;*

*Their Ad-
vices and
Consula-
tions.*

were easily persuaded to assume that Title, and to consider themselves as the supreme Authority in the Nation. These Men thus brought together continued in this Capacity near six Months to the amazement, and even mirth of the People. In which time they never enter'd upon any grave and serious Debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the Clergy, and against all Learning, out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and still would grow.

THERE were now no Bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that Order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves Ministers, and who, by being called so, receiv'd Tythes, and respect from their Neighbours. They look'd upon the Function it self to be Anti-Christian, and the Persons to be burthenome to the People, and the requiring, and payment of Tythes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolish'd together; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of People who might revive those pretences, they propos'd "that all Lands belonging to the Universities, and Colleges in those Universities, might be sold, and the Monies that should arise thereby, be dispos'd for the Publick Service, and to ease the People from the payment of Taxes and Contributions.

WHEN they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such Debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of *December*, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the Motion, one of them stood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal to the Burthen that was laid upon them, and therefore that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their Authority into Their Hands from whom they had receiv'd it; when being presently consented to, their Speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to *White-Hall*, and redeliver'd to *Cromwell* the Instrument they had receiv'd from him, acknowledging their own Impotency, and besought him to take care of the Common-wealth.

But the same Donation He and his Council of Officers were once more possess'd of the Supreme Sovereign Power of the Nation. And in few days after, his Council were too ready to share with him in this Royal Authority, but demanded, "that the Government of the Common-wealth should reside in a single Person; that That Person should be *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General of all the Forces in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, and that his Title should be *Lord Protector* of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and of all Dominions and Territories thereto "belonging;

"belonging; and that He should have a Council of one and twenty Persons to be Assistant to him in the Government.

MOST Men did now conclude, that the folly and fortificalness of this last Assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determin'd what should follow their Dissolution. For the method that succeeded, could hardly have been compos'd in so short a time after, by Persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of December, that the small Parliament was dissolv'd, when many of the Members, who came to the House as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to *White-Hall* to be dissolv'd; which the other never thought of: And upon the sixteenth day, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were sent for to attend *Cromwell* and his Council to *Westminster-Hall*; it being then Vacation-time; and being come thither, the Commissioners sitting upon their usual Seat, and not knowing why they were sent for, the Declaration of the Council of Officers was read, whereby *Cromwell* was made Protector; who stood in the Court uncover'd, whilst what was contain'd in a piece of Parchment was read, which was call'd the *Instrument of Government*; whereby it was ordain'd, "that the Protector should call a Parliament once in every three years; that the first Parliament should be Conven'd upon the third day of September following, which would be in the year 1654; and that he should not dissolve any Parliament once met, till they had sat five Months; that such Bills as should be presented to him by the Parliament, if they should not be confirm'd by him within twenty days, should pass without him, and be look'd upon as Laws: That he should have a select Council to assist him, which should not exceed the Number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen: That immediately after his death, the Council should choose another Protector, before they rose: That no Protector after him should be General of the Army: That the Protector should have power to make Peace and War: That, with the consent of his Council, he should make Laws, which should be binding to the Subjects during the intervals of Parliament.

WHILST this was reading, *Cromwell* had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his Oath, "that he would not violate any thing that was contain'd in that Instrument of Government; but would observe, and cause the same to be observ'd; and in all things, according to the best of his understanding, govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs, seeking Peace and causing Justice and Law to be equally administer'd.

THIS

He is pro-
claim'd Pro-
tector.

THIS new invented Ceremony being in this manner perform'd, He himself was cover'd, and all the rest bare; and *Lambert*, who was then the second Person in the Army, carried the Sword before his Highness (which was the Style he took from thenceforth) to his Coach, all they whom he call'd into it, sitting bare; and so he return'd to *White-Hall*; and immediately Proclamation was made by a Herald, in the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*, "that the late Parliament having dissolv'd themselves, and resign'd their whole Power and Authority, the Government of the Common-wealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments, was now establish'd: And whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General of all the Forces of the Common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations; and had accepted thereof, publication was now made of the same; and all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, were strictly charged and commanded to take notice thereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so establish'd; and all Sheriffs, Mayors, &c. were required to publish this Proclamation, to the end that none might have cause to pretend Ignorance therein. Which Proclamation was at the same time publish'd in *Cheapside* by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and, with all possible expedition, by the Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. And in some time after, the City of *London* invited their new Protector to a very splendid Entertainment at *Grocers-Hall*, upon an *Asb-Wednesday*; the Streets being rail'd, and the Solemnity of his Reception such as had been at any time perform'd to the King: And He, as like a King, graciously conferr'd the honour of Knighthood upon the Lord Mayor at his departure.

The City in-
vites him to
Grocer's-
Hall.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary Man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all Noble Persons or Men of Quality, or of any Number of Men, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds Lands by the year, mounted himself into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Name of King, but with a greater Power and Authority than had ever been exercised, or claim'd by any King; and receiv'd greater evidence and manifestation of respect, and esteem, from all the Kings and Princes in *Christendom*, than have ever been shew'd to any Monarch of those Nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhor'd him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship.

THOUGH

THOUGH during this last year's unsettlement in *England*, *Cromwell* had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good Winter Guard of Ships in the *Downs*, yet the *Dutch* had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of Trade during that confusion, and suspension of Power; and had sent out their Fleets of Merchant Men under a Convoy, by the North of *Scotland*; and, by the return of that Convoy, receiv'd their Fleet from the *Baltick* with security: So that, upon the hope those domestick contentions in *England* would not be so soon compos'd, they begun to recover their Spirits again. But *Cromwell* had no sooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he caus'd a strong Fleet to be made ready against the Spring; and committed the Command thereof to three Admirals joynly; *Blake*, a Man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to *Cromwell*; *Monk*, whom he call'd out of *Scotland* as his own Creature; and *Dean*, a meer Sea-man, grown, from a common Mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent Officer.

A Fleet this year 1653 for forth under three Admirals.

THIS Fleet, in the beginning of *June* in the year 1653, met with the *Dutch* about the middle Seas over between *Dover* and *Zeeland*; and made what hast they could to engage them. But the Wind not being favourable, it was noon before the Fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that *Dean*, one of the *English* Admirals, was kill'd by a Cannon shot from the Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch*. The next morning, the *Dutch* having the advantage of the small Wind that was, the *English* charg'd so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their Guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their Squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the Sail they could for their own Coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their Ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The Execution on the *Dutch* was very great, as was likewise the number of the Prisoners, as well Officers as Soldiers. The loss of the *English* was greatest in their General *Dean*: there was, besides him, but one Captain, and about two hundred Common Sea-men, kill'd: the Number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one Ship, nor were so disabled but that they follow'd with the whole Fleet to the Coast of *Holland*, whither the other fled; and being got into the *Flus*, and the *Texel*, the *English* for some time block'd them up in their own Harbours, taking all such Ships as came bound for those parts.

The Dutch beaten at Sea in June.

THIS great Defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible hast to send four Commissioners into *England* to mediate for a Treaty, and a Cessation of Armes; who were receiv'd of *Town*.

The Dutch send four Commissioners to treat.

receiv'd very loftily by *Cromwell*, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a Contention: yet He declared a gracious inclination to a Treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no Cessation; which being known in *Holland*, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their Ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another Fleet, strong enough to remove the *English* from their Coasts; which they believ'd was the best Expedient to advance their Treaty: and there cannot be a greater Instance of the opulency of that People, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great Defeat, in so short a time to set out a Fleet strong enough to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them within their Ports.

THEIR Admiral *Trump* had, with some of the Fleet, retired into the *Wierings*, at too great a distance from the other Ports for the *English* Fleet to divide it self. He had, with a marvellous Industry, caused his hurt Ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all Officers and Sea-men who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their Service, that by the end of *July*, within less than two Months after their Defeat, he came out of the *Wierings* with a Fleet of ninety and five Men of War; which as soon as the *English* had notice of, they made towards him. But the Wind rising, they were forced to stand more to Sea, for fear of the Sands and Shelves upon that Coast. Whereupon *Van Trump*, all that Night, stood into the *Texel*; where he joyn'd five and twenty more of their best Ships; and with this Addition, which made an hundred and twenty Sail, he faced the *English*; who, being at this time under the Command of *Monk* alone, kept still to the Sea; and having got a little more room, and the Weather being a little clearer, tack'd about, and were receiv'd by the *Dutch* with great courage and gallantry.

THE Battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the Clock in the Morning till one in the Afternoon; when the Admiral of *Holland*, the famous *Van Trump*, whilst he very signally perform'd the Office of a brave and bold Commander, was shot with a Musquet Bullet into the Heart, of which he fell dead without speaking word. This blow brake the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their Companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot Service, before the Evening, fled, and made all the Sail they could towards the *Texel*; the *English* were not in a condition

Trump
came to Sea
with another
Fleet before
the end of
July.

other
Fight:
Trump
was the
Englishes
commander.

dition to pursue them ; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own Coast, both to preserve and mend their maim'd and tore Ships, and refresh their wounded Men.

THIS Battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their Enemies Fleet than the taking their Ships. On the *Hollander's* part, between twenty and thirty of their Ships of War were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand Prisoners taken. The Victory cost the *English* dear too ; for four hundred common Men, and eight Captains, were slain outright, and above seven hundred common Men, and five Captains, wounded. But they lost only one Ship, which was burn'd ; and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther Service. The most sensible part of the loss to the *Dutch* was the death of their Admiral *Van Trump*, who, in respect of his Maritime experience, and the frequent Actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckon'd amongst the most eminent Commanders at Sea of that age, and to whose memory his Country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

THIS was the last Engagement at Sea between the two Common-wealths : for as the *Dutch* were, by this last Defeat, and loss of their brave Admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their Commissioners at *London* order to prosecute the Peace upon any conditions, so *Cromwell*, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of so chargeable a War, and knew he had much to do to settle the Government at home, and that he might choose more convenient Enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the *Hollanders* had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the *Dutch* to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them ; among which one was, " that they should not suffer any of the King's Party, or any Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*, to reside within their Dominions : and another, which was contain'd in a secret Article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affix'd, by which they obliged themselves " never to admit the Prince of *Orange* to be their State-holder, General, or Admiral ; and likewise to deliver up the Island of *Poleerone* in the *East-Indies* (which they had taken from the *English* in the time of King *James*, and usurped it ever since) into the hands of the *East India English* Company again ; and to pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at *Ambeyna* ; for which the two last Kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation : about the middle of *April* 1654, He made a Peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could desire, having

Cromwell
makes Peace
with the
Dutch
Apr. 1654.

ing indeed all the Persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joynt interest.

*He makes
Portugal
send an Em-
bassadour for
Peace.*

AND having now render'd himself terrible abroad, He forced *Portugal* to send an Embassadour to beg Peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to sue for his Alliance. He suspended for a time to choose a new Enemy, that he might make himself as much obey'd at home,

*He persecutes
as he was
the King's
Party.*

as he was fear'd abroad: and in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's Party with the utmost Rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and upon every light rumour of a Conspiracy, clapp'd up all those whom he thought fit to suspect, into close Prisons; enjoyn'd others not to stir from their own Houses, and banish'd all who had ever been in Armes for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them when they gave up their Armes, and to the indemnity upon their Compositions.

*The general
discontents
in the Na-
tion.*

THE discontents were general over the whole Kingdom, and among all sorts of People, of what Party soever. The Presbyterians preach'd boldly against the Liberty of Conscience, and the monstrous Licence that sprung from thence; and they who enjoy'd that Licence were as unsatisfied with the Government as any of the rest, talk'd more loudly, and threaten'd the Person of *Cromwell* more than any. But into these distempers *Cromwell* was not inquisitive; nor would give those Men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly Spirits at the charge of the King's Party, and with the Spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general licence of discourse, any Man who was suspected to wish well to the King, let fall any light word against the Government, he was sure to be cast in Prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the great consolation to miserable Men, who had, in themselves or their Friends, been undone by their Loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the Person of *Cromwell*; Wine, and good Fellowship, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole Nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. Ad commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted Person of the Party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompence, betrayed his Compani-

ons, and inform'd of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new Plot was discover'd against the Common-wealth and the Person of the Protector, and a high Court of Justice was presently erected to try the Criminals; which rarely absolv'd any Man who was brought before them. But to this kind of Trial they never expos'd any Man but those of the King's Party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many Friends to suffer them to be brought before such a Tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the King himself, and continued to root out all who adher'd to him. No Man who had ever been against the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant Power; but such were remitted to the Trial of the Law by Juries, which seldom condemn'd any.

THE very next Month after the Peace was made, for the better establishment of *Cromwell's* Empire, a High Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of Persons accused of holding correspondence with *Charles Stuart* (which was the Style they allow'd the King) "and for having a design against the life of the Protector, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King. The chief Persons they accused of this were, Mr *Gerard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Ensign in the King's Army, but was not at present above twenty two years of Age: the other, one Mr *Vowel*; who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Islington*. Mr *Gerard* was charged with "having been at *Paris*, and having there spoken with the King; which he confessed; and declared "that he went to *Paris* upon a business "that concern'd himself (which he named) "and when he "had dispatched it, and was to return for *England*, he desired "the Lord *Gerard*, his Kinsman, to present him to the King, "that he might kiss his hand; which he did in a large Room, "where were many present; and that, when he asked his Majesty, whether he would command him any Service into *England*? his Majesty bid him to commend him to his "Friends there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, "and not engage themselves in any Plots; which must prove "ruinous to them, and could do the King no good: which was very true: for his Majesty had observ'd so much of the temper of the People at his being at *Worcester*, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any Insurrection must be, that he endeavour'd nothing more than to divert, and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this High Court of Justice receiv'd proof, that Mr *Gerard* and Mr *Vowel* had been present with some other Gentlemen in a Tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy "a thing it was to kill the Protector, and at the same time to

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"seize

"seife upon the Tower of *London*, and that, if at the same time the King were proclaim'd, the City of *London* would presently declare for his Majesty; and no body would oppose him.

*They are
condemn'd.*

*Mr Vowel
mounted at
Charing-
Cross: his
magnani-
mous beha-
viour.*

UPON this Evidence, these two Gentlemen were condemn'd to be hang'd; and upon the tenth of *July*, about three Months after they had been in Prison, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Cross*; whither Mr *Vowel* was brought; who was a Person utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person entrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name, and memory preserv'd in the List of those who shew'd most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which, he said, "he suffer'd without having committed any fault. He profess'd his duty to the King; and his reverence for the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advis'd the People to return to their fidelity to both; "which, he told them "they "would at last be compell'd to do after all their Sufferings. He address'd himself most to the Soldiers; told them, "how "unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the Ambition of an unworthy Tyrant; and conjured them "to forsake Him, and to serve the King; which, he was sure, they "would at last do. And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and Himself, to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much Christian Resolution, as can be expected from the most compos'd Conscience.

*Mr Gerard
beheaded on
Tower-
Hill in the
afternoon of
the same
day.*

THE Protector was prevail'd with to shew more respect to Mr *Gerard* in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the Afternoon of the same day to a Scaffold upon the *Tower-Hill*. But they were so ill pleas'd with the behaviour of Him who suffer'd in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People, but press'd him to discover all the Secrets of the Plot and Conspiracy. He told them, "that "if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the "King any service; and was now willing to die upon that "suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charg'd against him; that he had not enter'd into, or consented "to any Plot or Conspiracy, nor given any countenance to "any discourse to that purpose; and offer'd again to speak to the People, and to magnify the King: upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the Block.

*The same
day and
place the
Portugal
Embassa-
dour's Brother
beheaded.*

THE same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of Justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The Embassadour of *Portugal* had a very splendid Equipage, and in his Company his Brother *Don Pantaleon Sa*, a Knight

of

of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his Brother in this Embassy, that he might see *England*. This Gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange, upon a sudden accident, and mistake, had a Quarrel with that Mr *Gerard*, whom we now left without his Head; who had then return'd some negligence and contempt to the Rodomontadoes of the *Portuguese*, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the *Dow* repair'd thither again the next day, with many Servants, better arm'd, and provided for any Encounter, imagining he should there find his former Adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the *Portuguese* not distinguishing Persons, and finding many Gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believ'd very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and enter'd into a new Quarrel; in which a Gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly pass'd, and walking there accidentally, was kill'd, and others hurt; upon which, the People rising from all the Neighbouring places, *Dow* thought fit to make his retreat to his Brother's House; which he did, and caused the Gates to be lock'd, and put all the Servants in Armes to defend the House against the People; which had pursued him, and flock'd now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had kill'd a Gentleman.

THE Embassadour knew nothing of the affair, but look'd upon himself as affronted, and assauled by a rude Multitude; and took care to defend his House till the Justice should ally the Tutuuk. *Cromwell* was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an Officer with Soldiers to demand and seize upon all the Persons who had been engaged in the Action: and so the Embassadour came to be inform'd of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonish'd. The Officer demanded the Person of his Brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be deliver'd to him, without which he would break open the House, and find them wherever they were conceal'd. The Embassadour demanded the Privilege that was due to his House by the Law of Nations, and which he would defend against any Violence with his own Life, and the Lives of all his Family; but finding the Officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the Encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the Protector; which was granted to him. He complain'd of the Injury that was done him, and desired an Audience. *Cromwell* sent him word, "that a Gentleman had been murder'd, and many others hurt; and that Justice must be satisfied; and therefore required that all the Per-

“*sons engaged might be deliver’d into the hands of his Officer; without which, if he should withdraw the Soldiers, and desist the requiring it, the People would pull down the House, and execute Justice themselves; of which he would not answer for the effect. When this was done, he should have an Audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power to give. The Embassadour desired “that his Brother, and the rest, might remain in his House, and he would be responsible, and produce them before the Justice as the time should be assign’d. But nothing would serve but the delivery of the Persons, and the People increased their cry “that they would pull down the House. Whereupon the Embassadour was compell’d to deliver up his Brother, and the rest of the Persons; who were all sent Prisoners to Newgate. The Embassadour used all the Instances he could for his Brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the Law; but could receive no other answer but “that Justice must be done; and Justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their Tryal at the Sessions at Newgate, and there so many of them condemn’d to be hang’d as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemn’d, were executed at Tyburn; and *Don Pantaloon* himself was brought to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, as soon as *Mr Gerard* was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his Antagonist had done.*”

The condition of the Protector in respect of his Neighbours.

The State of Scotland under him.

of Ireland.

THOUGH the Protector had nothing now to do but at home, *Holland* having accepted Peace upon his own terms, *Portugal* bought it at a full price, and upon an humble Submission, *Denmark* being contented with such an Alliance, as he was pleas’d to make with them, and *France* and *Spain* contending, by their Embassadours, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; *Scotland* lying under a heavy Yoke by the strict Government of *Monk*, who after the Peace with the *Dutch* was sent back to govern that Province, which was reduced under the Government of the *English* Laws, and their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the State with reference to Assemblies, or Synods; *Ireland* being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the Protector’s Commands; so that Commissions were sent to divide all the Lands which had belong’d to the *Irish*, or to those *English* who had adhered to the King, amongst those Adventurers who had supplied Money for the War, and the Soldiers and Officers; who were in great Arrears for their pay, and who receiv’d liberal Assignations in Lands; one whole Province being reserv’d for the *Irish* to be confin’d to; and all these Divisions made under the Government of his younger Son, *Harry Cromwell*, whom he sent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; who liv’d in the full Grandeur of the Office; notwith-

notwithstanding all this *England* proved not yet so cowardly as *Disputes* he expected. *Poss*, and the most considerable Men of the Independent Party, from the time he had turn'd them out of the Parliament, and so dissolv'd it, retired quietly to their Houses in the Country; poyson'd the Affections of their Neighbours towards the Government; and lost nothing of their credit with the People: yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or to give *Cromwell* any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

THERE were another less wary, because a more desperate Party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the most active Agitators in the Army, who had executed his Orders and Designs in incensing the Army against the Parliament, and had been at that time his sole Confidants and Bed-fellows; who, from the time that he assumed the Title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, professed a mortal hatred to his Person; and he well knew both these People had too much credit in his Army, and with some principal Officers of it. Of these Men he stood in more fear than of all the King's Party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he colour'd many of the preparations he made against the other; as if provided against the dangers threaten'd from them. *especially the Levellers.*

BUT the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Instrument of Government, and upon his Oath, to call a Parliament; which seem'd to him the only means left to compose the minds of the People to an entire submission to his Government. In order to this Meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending Writs out to all the little Boroughs throughout *England*, which use to send Burgesses (by which Method some single Counties send more Members to the Parliament, than six other Counties do) he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more Knights for every Shire to be chosen, and fewer Burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessen'd; and yet, the People being left to their own Election, it was not by him thought an ill temperment, and was then generally look'd upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his Writs, Elections were made accordingly in all places; and such Persons, for the most part, chosen and return'd, as were believ'd to be the best affected to the present Government, and to those who had any Authority in it; there being strict Order given, "that no Person who had ever been against the Parliament during the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such Persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in that

His Excellency
made notes
Sept. 3.
1654.

The Sub-
stance of his
Speech to
them :

“Parliament; nor were any such Persons made choice of.

THE day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared Protector; when, after they had been at a Sermon in the Abby at Westminster, they all came into the Painted Chamber; where his Highness made them a large discourse; and told them, “that that Parliament was such a Congregation of “wise, prudent, and discreet Persons, that England had scarce “seen the like: that he should forbear relating to them the “Series of God’s Providence all along to that time, because it “was well known to them; and only declare to them, that “the erection of his present power was a suitable providence to “the rest, by shewing what a condition these Nations were in “at its erection: that Then every Man’s heart was against “another’s, every Man’s interest divided against another’s, “and almost every thing grown Arbitrary: that there was “grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, the Grace “of God turn’d into wantonness, and his Spirit make a Cloak “for all wickedness and prophaneness, nay, that the Ax was “even laid to the root of the Ministry, and swarms of Jesuits “were continually wasted over hither to consume, and destroy “the Welfare of England: that the Nation was then likewise “engaged in a deep War with Portugal, Holland, and France; “so that the whole Nation was one heap of confusion; but “that this present Government was calculated for the People’s “Interest, let malignant Spirits say what they would; and that, “with humbleness towards God, and modesty towards Them, “he would recount somewhat in the behalf of the Govern- “ment. First, it had endeavour’d to reform the Law, it had “put into the Seat of Justice Men of known integrity, and “ability; it had settled a way for probation of Ministers to “Preach the Gospel: and besides all this, it had called a free “Parliament: that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free “Parliament: then as to Wars, that a Peace was made with “Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal, and was like- “wise near concluding with France: that these things were “but entrances, and doors of hopes; but now he made no “question to enable them to lay the top Stone of the Work, “recommending to them that maxim, that Peace, though it “were made, was not to be trusted farther than it consisted “with Interest: that the great Work which now lay upon “this Parliament, was, that the Government of England might “be settled upon terms of Honour: that they would avoid con- “fusions, lest Forreign States should take Advantage of them: “that, as for himself, he did not speak like one that would be “a Lord over them, but as one that would be a Fellow-Ser- “vant in that great Affair: and concluded, “that they should
“go

"go to their House; and there make choice of a Speaker: which they perfectly did, and seem'd very unanimous in their first Act, which was the making choice of *William Lenthall* to be their Speaker; which Agreement was upon very disagreeing Principles. *Cromwell* having design'd him, for luck's sake, and being well-acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in This, as well as he had been in the long Parliament; when he always complied with that Party that was most powerful. And the other Persons who meant nothing that *Cromwell* did, were well pleased, out of hope that the same Man's being in the Chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former House; which they looked upon as the true legitimate Parliament, strangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

LENTHALL was no sooner in his Chair than it was proposed, "that they might in the first place consider by what Authority they came thither, and whether that which had Convent'd them, had a Lawful power to that purpose. From which Subject the Protector's Creatures, and those of the Army, endeavour'd to divert them by all the Arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the House insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their Counsels must be built: add as many of the Members positively enough declar'd against that Power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they might easily discern the Snarls which were laid to entrap the Privileges of the People; and for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one Person, so now he could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties shackled by another, whose Right to the Government could not be measured otherwise than by the length of his Sword, which alone had embolden'd him to Command his Commanders. This Spirit prevail'd so far, that, for eight days together, those of the Council of Officers, and others (who were called the Court Party) could not divert the question from being put, "whether the Government should be by a Protector and a Parliament, any other way than by lengthning the Debate, and then Adjourning the House when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly saw that it would be carried in the Negative.

THE continuance of this warm Debate in the House, in which the Protector's own Person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and oblig'd him once more to try, what respect his Sovereign Presence would produce towards a better Composure. So he came again to the

*Cromwell
speak: so
often in the
Painted
Chamber.*

Painted Chamber, and sent for his Parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great God of Heaven and Earth knew what Grief and Sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling into Heats and Divisions; that he would have them take notice of this, that the same Government made Him a Protector, that made Them a Parliament: that as they were intrusted in some things, so was He in others: that in the Government were certain fundamentals, which could not be alter'd; to wit, that the Government should be in a single Person and a Parliament; that Parliaments should not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the Militia should not be trusted into one Hand, or Power, but so as the Parliament might have a check on the Protector, and the Protector on the Parliament; that in matters of Religion there ought to be a Liberty of Conscience, and that Persecution in the Church was not to be Tolerated: These, he said, were unalterable fundamentals: as for other things in the Government, they were examinable and alterable as the State of Affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was even overwhelm'd with Grief, to see that any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary to the trust they had receiv'd from the People; which could not but bring very great inconveniences upon themselves and the Nation. When he had made this frank Declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a Guard to attend at the door of the Parliament House, and there to restrain all Men from entering into the House who refused to subscribe this following Engagement: "I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and shall not (according to the tenour of this Indenture, whereby I am retu'n'd to serve in Parliament) propose or give any Consent to alter the Government as it is settled in one Person and a Parliament.

*He admits
none into the
House but
such as sub-
scribed an
Engagement
to him.*

THIS Engagement a considerable part of the Members utterly refused to sign; and call'd it a violation of the Privilege of Parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrain'd from entering into the House: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon Liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any Proposition that might settle him in the Government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five Months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses (during which he was not to attempt the Dissolution of them, by his Instrument of Government) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of *January*,

*He dissolves
them Jan.
22.*

1653,

surely, with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with much evidence of his Displeasure: and they again retired to their habitations, resolv'd to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his Usurpation, by undertaking any Employment or Office under his Authority, He as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an Advantage against them, as might make them lyable to the penalty of the Laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious Advantage, appear'd in two very notable Instances, which happen'd about that time, in the Case of two Persons, whose Names were then much taken notice of upon the Stage of Affairs, *John Wildman*, and *John Lilburn*. An account of John Wildman and John Lilburn, Levellers.

THE former had been bred a Scholar in the University of *John Wildman*. *Cambridge*, and being young, and of a pregnant Wit, in the beginning of the Rebellion meant to make his Fortune in the War; and chose to depend upon *Cromwell's* countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a Captain of a Troop of Horse himself, and was much esteem'd and valued by him, and made an Officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting Jealousies and Discontents, and so dextrous in composing, or improving any Disgusts, and so inspired with the Spirit of Praying and Preaching, when those gifts came into request, and became thriving Arts, that about the time when the King was taken from *Holmby*, and it was necessary that the Army should enter into Contests with the Parliament, *John Wildman* grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was most relied upon by *Cromwell* to infuse those things into the minds of the Soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their Discontents, as might most advance those designs He then had; and quickly got the reputation of a Man of Parts; and, having a smooth Pen, drew many of the Papers which first kindled the Fire between the Parliament and the Army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of Both. His reputation in those Faculties made him quit the Army; where he was become a Major; and where he kept still a great Interest, and betook himself to Civil Affairs, in the sollicitation of Suites depending in the Parliament, or before Committees; where he had much Credit with those who had most power to do Right or Wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such Protection from the Tyranny of the time. By these Arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the Army, and kept, and increased his Credit there, by the Interest he had in other places. When *Cromwell* declin'd the ways of establishing the Common-wealth, *Wildman*, amongst

the rest, forsook him; and enter'd, warily, into any Councils which were like to destroy him: And upon the dissolution of this last Parliament, having less of flegme, and so less patience than other Men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his Greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a Schism in the Army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged Persons to take vengeance upon him.

CROMWELL knew the Man, and his undermining Faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant a publick Prosecution; but appointed some trusty Spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his Papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the Preamble to any Conspiracy of His. Shortly after the dissolution of that Parliament, these Instruments of Cromwell's surpris'd him in a Room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a Declaration; and seiz'd upon the Papers; the title whereof was, "a Declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige Us to take up Arms against *Oliver Cromwell*; and though it was not finish'd, yet in that that was done, there was all Venom imaginable express'd against him, and a large and bitter Narration of all his foul breach of Trust, and Perjuries, enough to have expos'd any Man to the severest Judgement of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against Him, or any Man whom he most desired to destroy. The Issue was, the Man was straightly Imprison'd, and preparations made for his Trial, and towards his Execution, which all Men expected. But, whether *Cromwell* found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to Justice, or were fit to be discover'd (as many Men believ'd) or that *Wildman* oblig'd himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a Spy for him upon others (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards) after a short time of Imprisonment, the Man was restored to his Liberty; and resorted, with the same success and reputation to his former course of Life; in which he thrived very notably.

John Lilburn.

THE Case of *John Lilburn* was much more wonderful, and administer'd more occasion of discourse and observation. This Man, before the Troubles, was a poor Book-binder; and for procuring some Seditious Pamphlets against the Church and State to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the *Star-Chamber*, and receiv'd a sharp Castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his Imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he rais'd
in



in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence of or for the vindication of any oppressed Truth; and found himself very much confirm'd in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected, and read all those Libels and Books, which had anciently, as well as lately been written against the Church: from whence, with the vanom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their Style; and by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that Licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he publish'd some Pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the Government most to the sense of the People, and to their humour. When the War began, he put himself into the Army; and was taken Prisoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Bensford*, shortly after the Battle of *Edge-hill*; and being then a Man much known, and talk'd of for his qualities above mention'd, he was not so well treated in Prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief Justice, to be tried for Treason by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded against the Rebels which should be taken) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his Friends at *London* (and the Parliament in express terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon the Prisoners they had of the King's Party, in the same manner as *Lilburn* and the rest should suffer at *Oxford*") so he did find means to corrupt the Marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the Parliament Quarters; where he was receiv'd with publick Joy, as a Champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

FROM this time he was entertain'd by *Cromwell* with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the Parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he began then to find him of so restless and unruly a Spirit; and to make those advances in Religion against the Presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reside in *London*, where he wish'd that temper should be improv'd. And when the Parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the Pamphlets he publish'd every day in Religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolv'd to prosecute him with great rigour (towards which the Assembly of Divines, which he had likewise provok'd, contributed their desire, and demand.) *Cromwell* writ
a very

a very passionate Letter to the Parliament. "that they would not so much discourage their Army, that was fighting for them, as to censure an Officer of it for his opinion in point of Conscience; for the Liberty whereof, and to free themselves from the shackles in which the Bishops would enslave them, that Army had been principally raised. Upon which, all farther prosecution against *Lilburn* was declin'd at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that *Cromwell* had dispersed that Parliament, and was, in effect, in possession of the Sovereign Power, *Lilburn* withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the Aspersions of Hypocrisy, Lying, and Tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserv'd, or the malice or bitterness of the other's Nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjured Person could be.

Cromwell could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance, and concernment, than any Person in Authority had ever done: yet the prosecution this Man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his Dignity, or to have any security in the Government, whilst His Licence continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his Actions, and collect his Words, and upon advice with the Council at Law of the State, was confidently inform'd, "that, as well by the old establish'd Laws, as by new Ordinances, *Lilburn* was "guilty of High Treason, and had forfeited his Life, if he "were prosecuted in any Court of Justice, he caused him to be sent to *Newgate*, and at the next Sessions to be indicted of High Treason: all the Judges being present, and the Council at Law to enforce the Evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a Jury as might be fit for the importance of the Case, *Lilburn* appear'd undaunted, and with the confidence of a Man that was to play a Prize before the People for their own Liberty; he pleaded Not-guilty, and heard all the Charge and Evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the Lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the Judges, he shew'd that he had no reverence for their Persons, nor any submission to their Authority. The whole day was spent in his Tryal; and when he came to make his Defence, he mingled so much Law in his discourse to invalidate their Authority, and to make it appear so Tyrannical, that neither their Lives, Liberties, nor Estates were in any degree secure, whilst that

that Usurpation was excus'd; and answer'd all the matters objected against him with such an assurance, making them "to contain nothing of High Treason, and That to be a Government against which High Treason could not be committed; and telling them "that all true born *English* Men were obliged to oppose this Tyranny, as he had done purely for Their sakes, and that he had done it only for their sakes, and to preserve them from being Slaves, contrary to his own profit and worldly Interest: He told them "how much he had been in *Cromwell's* Friendship: that he might have receiv'd any benefit, or preferment from him, if he would have stay'd still, and seen his Country enslav'd; which because he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life taken from him by their Judgement; which he apprehended not: he defended himself with that vigour, and charm'd the Jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the Judges could give them (who assur'd them "that the words and actions fully proved against the Prisoner, were High Treason by the Law; and that they were bound, by all the obligation of Conscience, to find him guilty) after no long consultation between themselves, they return'd with their Verdict, "that he was Not-guilty: nor could they be perswaded by the Judges to change or recede from their Verdict: which infinitely enraged and perplex'd *Cromwell*; who look'd upon it as a greater Defeat than the loss of a Battle would have been. And though *Lilburn* was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would never suffer him to be set at Liberty, as by the Law he ought to have been, but sent him from Prison to Prison, and kept him enclosed there till He himself died. These two Instances of Persons not otherwise considerable, are thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the Nation; and how far the Spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when no body had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

WHATEVER uneasiness and perplexity *Cromwell* found in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the Friendship, or the Indignation of other Princes; They had all the same terrible Apprehension of *Cromwell's* power as if he had been landed with an Army in any of their Dominions, and look'd upon the King's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The Treaty between *France* and *England* proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh Evidence of the good Intelligence between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal. The Ships and Prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve *Dunkirk*, and by the taking whereof *Dunkirk* had been lost, were now restored, and

The King's condition abroad.

Cromwell's Treaty with France.

and set at liberty; and such mutual Offices person'd between them, as, with frequent evidences of Aversion from the King and his Interest, made it very manifest to his Majesty, that his residence would not be suffer'd to continue longer in *France*, after the Alliance should be publish'd with *Cromwell*; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's blushing to consent to some Propositions, without which the other's fast Friendship was not to be obtain'd; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquer'd at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

The King
thinks of re-
treating out
of France;
but whether
was the Que-
stion.

THERE could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he liv'd so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no Money to enable him to remove, or to pay the Debts he ow'd there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a Civil Reception. *Holland* was bound not to admit him into their Dominions, and by their Example had shew'd other Princes, and States, what conditions They must submit to who would be Allies to *Cromwell*. The King of *Spain* was at the same time contending with *France* for *Cromwell's* Friendship, and thought he had some Advantage with him by the Residence his Majesty had in *France*: so there could be no thought of repairing into *Flanders*, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The Protestants, in most places, express'd much more Inclination to his Rebels than to Him. The Roman Catholics look'd upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their Arms by changing his Religion, without which they generally declared, "they would never give him the least Assistance. In this distress, his Majesty resum'd the considerations he had formerly emerg'd upon, of sending to the Diet; which was summon'd by the Emperour to meet shortly at *Ratisbona*, to make choice of a King of the *Romans*. And *Germany* being then in Peace, the Emperour made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of *Hungary* his eldest Son to be made King of the *Romans*, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the Empire. Our King had long design'd to send the Lord *Wilmot* on that Errand, to try what the Emperour, and Princes of *Germany*, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concern'd in, to restore a Prince so injur'd and oppress'd by so odious a Rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appear'd to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his Support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of *Germany*,

Germany, for the King to repair to; where he might amend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the King's Condition, that this Affair should be dispatched in as private a way as was possible; and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an Ambassador in such an humble page, as, at such an illustrious Conjunction of all the Princes of the Empire, was necessary. *Wilkes* desired very much for that Character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an Earl; for which he had obtain'd the King's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the King, "that this was a proper season, and very much for the Advancement of his Service; that if he had the Title of an Earl, which would be look'd upon as a high Qualification; he would not assume the Character of an Ambassador, though he would carry such a Commission with him, but make all his Negotiations as a private Favourer; of which he promised the King wonderful Effects, and pretended to have great assurance of Money, and of making Levies of Men for any Expedition; The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable Advantage from this Agitation, was contented to make him Earl of Rochester; and gave him all such Commissions, and Credentials, as were necessary for the Employment; and sent him from Paris in the Christmas time, that he might be at Rotisbone at the meeting of the Diet, which was to be in the beginning of April following; means having been found to procure so much Money as was necessary for that Journey, out of the Assignment that had been made to the King for his Support; of which there was a great Arrear due, and which the Cardinal caus'd at this time to be supplied, because he look'd upon this sending to Rotisbone as a preparatory for the King's own remove.

The King makes Wilkes Earl of Rochester; and sends him to the Diet at Rotisbone.

THOUGH Scotland was vanquish'd, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no Place nor Person who made the least shew of opposing Cromwell; who, by the Administration of Monk, made the Yoke very grievous to the whole Nation; yet the Preachers kept their Pulpit Liberties; and, more for the affront that was offer'd to Presbytery, than the Confidence of what was due to Majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the King; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the People against the present Government. The High-landers by the Advantage of their Situation, and the hardness of that People, made frequent Incurfions in the night into the English Quarters; and kill'd many of their Soldiers, but stole more of their Horses: and where there was

The affairs of Scotland at this time.

most appearance of Peace; and Subjection, if the Soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were usually knock'd on the head; and no Enquiry could discover the Malefactors.

MANY Expresses were sent to the King, as well from those who were Prisoners in England, as from some Lords who were at liberty in Scotland, "that Middleton might be sent into the High-lands with his Majesty's Commission; and in the mean time the Earl of Glencarne, a gallant Gentleman, offer'd, if he were Authoriz'd by the King, to draw a Body of Horse and Foot together in the High-lands, and to test the Enemy, and be ready to submit to Middleton, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of Arms and Ammunition. Accordingly the King had sent a Commission to the Earl of Glencarne; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave Monk some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that Middleton might be sent over to compose some Animosities, and Emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that Union, without which nothing could succeed, his Majesty, about the time that the Earl of Rochester was dispatch'd for Ratisbona, sent likewise Middleton into Scotland, with some few Officers of that Nation, and such a poor supply of Arms and Ammunition, as, by the activity and industry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some Merchants and Officers in Holland of that Nation, who were willing to redeem their Country from the Slavery it was in. With this very slender Assistance he Transported himself in the Winter into the High-lands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he look'd to find in Arms, more broken with Faction amongst themselves than by the Enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had deliver'd his thin unarm'd Troops to Middleton, and descended to fight a Duel with an Inferior Officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his Command, whether he was troubled to have another Command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other Men to Command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed Middleton's being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the Attempt, he retired first to his own House, and then made his Peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retain'd still his Affection and Fidelity to the King; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the same time he excus'd himself to the King, for giving over an Enterprize which he was not able to prosecute, though Middleton sustain'd it a full year afterwards.

THE truth is, the two Persons who were most concern'd

in

The King
sent a Com-
mission to the
Earl of
Glencarne.

And Mid-
dleton is
sent into
Scotland.

Glencarne
retires to his
own House;
and made his
Peace with
Monk.

in that Expedition, had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any Success, the King, and *Middleton*; who had both seen an Army of that People, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more Advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half arm'd and undisciplin'd, be able to contend with Victorious Troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majesty could not refuse to give them leave to Attempt what they believ'd they could through with; and *Middleton*, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be enabled to carry over with him two thousand Men, and good store of Armes, thought himself obliged to venture his Life with them who expected him; though he could carry no more with him than is mention'd; and by his behaviour there, notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had perform'd half their promises.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an Adventure that was made during his being in the High-lands, which deserves to be recorded for the honour of the Undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young Gentleman, one *Mr Wigan*, a very handsome Person, of the age of three or four and twenty. This Gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest Friends, engaged in the Parliament Service against the King; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and belov'd by all; but so much in the friendship of *Ireton*, under whom he had the Command of a Troop of Horse, that no Man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the Murder of the King he was so much improv'd in Age and Understanding, that, by that horrible and impious Murder, and by the information and advice of sober Men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that People, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own Reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had coulen'd and misled him: and in order thereunto, as soon as the Marquis of *Ormond* resum'd the Government of *Ireland* again for the King (which was the only place then where any Armes were boyned for his Majesty) Captain *Wigan* repaired thither to him through *Scotland*; and behaved himself with such signal Valour, that the Marquis of *Ormond* gave him the Command of his own Guards, and every Man the Testimony of deserving it. He came over with the Marquis into *France*; and being restless to be in Action, no sooner heard of *Middleton's* being arriv'd in *Scotland*, than he resolv'd to find himself with him; and

and immediately asked the King's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young Men about the Court as he could perswade to go with him; declaring to his Majesty, "that he resolv'd to pass through *England*." The King, who had much Grace for him; dissuaded him from the Undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majesty, nor the Marquis of *Ormond*, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his Inclinations: and there was no news so much talked of in the Court, as that Captain *Wogan* would go into *England*, and from thence march into *Scotland* to General *Middleton*; and many young Gentlemen, and others, who were in *Paris*, lifted themselves with him for the Expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, during the time of the King's stay in *France*, executed the Office of Secretary of State, to desire the dispatch of such Passes, Letters, and Commissions, as were necessary for the Affair, he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the Court, and from the free discourses of some of those who resolv'd to go with him, represented "the danger of the enterprise to himself, and the dishonour that would reflect upon the King, for suffering Men under his Pass, and with his Commission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: that it was now the discourse of the Town, and would without doubt be known in *England* and to *Cromwell*, before he and his Friends could get thither, so that it was likely they would be apprehended the first minute they set their foot on Shore; and how much his own particular Person was more liable to danger than other Mens he knew well; and, upon the whole matter, very earnestly dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answer'd most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expressly refused to make his Dispatches, till he could speak with the King; "with whom, he said, he would do the best he could to perswade his Majesty to hinder his Journey; with which the Captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the King; and seem'd so much transported with the resolution of the Adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevail'd with the King, that he caus'd all his dispatches to be made, and deliver'd to him. And the very next day He and his Companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of *Paris* together, and took Post for *Calais*.

THEY

THEY landed at *Dover*, continued their Journey to *London*, and walked the Town; stay'd there above three Weeks, till they had bought Horses, which they quarter'd at Common Inns, and lifted Men enough of their Friends and Acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their Rendezvous at *Barnet*, marched out of *London* as *Cromwell's* Soldiers, and from *Barnet* were full fourscore Horse well Armed, and appointed, and Quarter'd that Night at *St Albans*; and from thence, by easy Journeys, but out of the Common Roads, marched safely into *Scotland*; beat up some Quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joyn'd *Middleton* in the High-lands; where poor *Wogan*, after many brave Actions perform'd there, receiv'd upon a Party an ordinary flesh wound; which, for want of a good Surgeon proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of *Middleton*, and all who knew him. Many of the Troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through *England*, and return'd to the King.

IN the distress which the King suffer'd during his abode in *France*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with Him, were as angry with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who liv'd in great Friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the King in all his Counsels which were reserv'd from others; yet the Marquis's Quality, and the great Services he had perform'd, and the great sufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believ'd his aversion from all their Devices to make marriages, and to traffick in Religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's displeasure grew so notorious against the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence; and for many Months did not see her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the same House, the Palace Royal, where both their Majesties kept their Courts; which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her Majesty, to express a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the Queen was not reserv'd in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the King; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his Majesty had in his fidelity.

The Queen's displeasure against the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France.

THIS disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance of an odd Nature, and a Union between two seemingly irreconcilable Factions, the Papists and the Presbyterians: which was discover'd to the King by.

*A Petition
intended of
the Scottish
Presbyterians
by Balcarrie
and Fran-
zier, that
the Chancel-
lor of the
Exchequer
might be re-
mov'd.*

a false brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord Balcarrie, with Dr. Brown, and some other Scots about the Court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Presbyterians; and caused a Petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the Presbyterian Party had great Affections to serve his Majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many Propositions, and Advices to offer to his Majesty, for the Advancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and hindred from offering the same, by reason that his Majesty entrusted his whole Affairs to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who was an old known and declared Enemy to all their Party; in whom they could repose no trust: and therefore they besought his Majesty, that He might be remov'd from his Council, at least not be suffer'd to be privy to any thing that should be proposed by Them; and they should then make it appear how ready, and how able they were in a very short time to advance his Majesty's Affairs."

*And of the
Roman Ca-
tholicks also,
against him.*

ANOTHER Petition was prepared in the name of his Roman Catholick Subjects; which said, "that all his Majesty's Party which had adher'd to him, were now totally suppressed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his Enemies, and submitted to their Government: that the Church Lands were all sold, and the Bishops dead, except very few, who durst not exercise their Function: so that he could expect no more aid from any who were concern'd to support the Government of the Church as it had been formerly established: that by the defeat of Duke Hamilton's Party first, and then by his Majesty's ill success at Worcester, and the total reduction of the Kingdom of Scotland afterwards by Cromwell, his Majesty might conclude what greater aid he was to expect from the Presbyterian Party. Nothing therefore remain'd to him of hope for his Restoration, but from the affection of his Roman Catholick Subjects; who, as they would never be wanting as to their Persons and their Estates which were left, so they had hope to draw from the Catholick Princes, and the Pope himself, such considerable assistance both in Men and Money, that his Majesty should owe his Restoration, under the Blessing of God, to the sole power and assistance of the Catholicks. But they had great reason to fear, that all these hopes would be obstructed and render'd of no use, not only by there being no Person about his Majesty in whom the Catholicks could have any confidence, but by reason that the Person most trusted by him, and through whose hands all Letters and Dispatches must pass, is a known Enemy to all Catholicks; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that that Person, the Chancellor

"of

"of the Exchequer, might be removed from him; where-
 "upon he should find great benefit to accrue to his Service: It
 was concluded amongst them, that when these two Petitions
 should be weighed and consider'd, the Queen would easily
 convince his Majesty, that a Person who was so odious to all
 the Roman Catholics, from whose Affections his Majesty
 had most reason to promise himself relief; and to all the Pro-
 testants who could contribute to his assistance or subsistence,
 could not be fit to be continued in any Trust about him.

WARR matters were thus adjust'd, which were the lon-
 ger in preparation, because the Persons concern'd could not,
 without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be
 treated with by Persons mutually employed, one Mr Wal-
 singham, a Person very well known to all Men who at that
 time knew the Palace Royal, who had been employed in the
 affair, came to the King, and, whether out of ingenuity, and
 dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discove-
 ry would be grateful to his Majesty, inform'd him of the
 whole Intrigue, and gave a Copy of the Petitions to the King;
 who shew'd them to the Marquis of Ormonde, and the Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer; and inform'd them of the whole de-
 sign. And from this time his Majesty made himself very merry
 with it, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the Queen
 was present; and asked pleasantly, "when the two Petitions
 "would be brought against the Chancellor of the Exche-
 "quer? which being quickly known to some of the Persons
 engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over; and thought
 not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both Parties con-
 tinued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find
 any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their Ani-
 mosities against him still breaking out one after another, as
 long as the King remain'd in France; the Queen taking all oc-
 casions to complain to the Queen Regent of the King's un-
 kindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the
 Chancellor; and the Queen Mother of France was like to be
 very tender in a point that so much concern'd her self, that
 any Man should dare to interpose between the Mother and the
 Son.

THERE was an accident fell out, that administer'd some
 argument to make those Complaints appear more reasonable.
 The Cardinal de Retz had always express'd great civilities to-
 wards the King, and a desire to serve him; and upon some oc-
 casional conference between them, the Cardinal ask'd the
 King "whether he had made any attempt to draw any Assi-
 "stance from the Pope, and whether he thought that nothing
 "might be done that way to his advantage? The King told
 him, "nothing had been attempted that way; and that He

*The design
 discover'd by
 one Mr
 Walsing-
 ham, to the
 King, which
 quash'd them
 both.*

*A discourse
 of the King's
 with Cardi-
 nal de Retz.*

"was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do
 "any thing for a Man of His Faith. The Cardinal smiling,
 said, "he had no thought of speaking of his Faith; yet in
 short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest Man; "that if
 "any Overtures were made him of the change of his Religi-
 "on, he must tell his Majesty, it becomes him as a Cardinal
 "to wish his Majesty a Catholick for the saving his Soul; but
 "he must declare too, that if he did change his Religion, he
 "would never be restored to his Kingdoms. But he said, "he
 "did believe (though the Pope was old, and much decay'd in
 his generosity; for *Innocent* the 10th was then living) "that
 "if some proper Application was made to the Princes of *Ita-*
ly, and to the Pope himself, though there would not be got-
 ten wherewithal to raise and maintain Armies, there might
 "be somewhat considerable obtain'd for his more pleasant
 "Support, wherever he should choofe to reside. He said, "he
 "had himself some Alliance with the Great Duke, and in-
 terest in other Courts, and in *Rome* it self, and if his Majesty
 "would give him leave, and trust his discretion, he would
 "write in such a manner in his own Name to some of his
 "Friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his Majesty if
 "it brought him no convenience. The King had reason to
 acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wis-
 dom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse,
 the Cardinal ask'd his Majesty a question or two of matter of
 fact, which he could not answer, but told him, "he would
 "give a punctual information of it the next day in a Letter:
 which the Cardinal desired might be as soon as his Majesty
 thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it, make
 his dispatches into *Italy*. The particular things being out of
 the King's Memory, as soon as he return'd, he ask'd the Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having receiv'd
 a punctual Account from him, his Majesty writ a Letter the
 next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to those
 particulars. Within very few days after this, the Cardinal
 coming one day to the *Louvre* to see the Queen Mother, he was
 arrested by the Captain of the Guard, and sent Prisoner to the
Bastile; and in one of his Pockets, which they search'd, that Letter
 the King had sent to him was found, and deliver'd to the Queen
 Regent; who presently imparted it to the Queen of *England*;
 and after they had made themselves merry with some improprie-
 ties in the *French*, the King having, for the secrecy, not con-
 sulted with anybody, they discover'd some purpose of apply-
 ing to the Pope, and to other Catholick Princes; and that his
 Majesty should enter upon any such Counsel, without first
 consulting with the Queen his Mother, could proceed only from
 the instigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Cardinal de Retz
 sent to the
Bastile.

H E R

HER Majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproach'd the King for his Neglect, and gave him his Letter. The King was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the Queen Mother had shew'd towards him, in communicating his Letter in that manner to his Mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his Mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen Mother, who was in truth a very worthy Lady, shew'd much more kindness to the King. And a little time after, there being a Masque at the Court that the King liked very well, he perswaded the Chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next Night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the Marquis of *Ormond* and Him next the Seat where all their Majesties were to sit. And when they enter'd, the Queen Regent ask'd, "who that fat Man was?" "who sat by the Marquis of *Ormond*?" The King told her aloud, "that was the naughty Man who did all the Mischief," and set him against his Mother: at which the Queen herself was little less disorder'd than the Chancellor was. But they within hearing laugh'd so much, that the Queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his Advantage, whom few thought to deserve the Reproach.

AT this time the King was inform'd by the *French Court*, Prince Rupert with his Fleet was now at Nantes. that Prince *Rupert*, who had been so long absent, having gone with the Fleet from *Holland* before the Murder of the late King, and had not been heard of in some years, was now upon the Coast of *France*, and soon after at *Nantes* in the Province of *Brittain*, with the *Swallow*, a Ship of the King's, and with three or four other Ships; and that the *Countess Reformation*, another Ship of the King's, in which Prince *Maurice* had been; was cast away in the *Indies* near two years before; and that Prince *Rupert* himself was return'd with very ill health. The King sent presently to welcome him, and to invite him to *Paris* to attend his health; and his Majesty presumed that, by the Arrival of this Fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should receive some Money, that would enable him to remove out of *France*; of which He was as weary as it was of Him.

GREAT Expectation was rais'd in the *English Court*, that there would be some notable change upon the Arrival of this Prince; and though he had profess'd much kindness to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he parted from *Holland*, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his Friend, the rather for that he had left *Ireland* with some declared unkindness towards the Marquis of *Ormond*. And all Men knew that the Attorney General, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that Prince; and that

his Highness could not be without credit enough with the King to introduce him into business; which they thought would at least lessen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no sooner known that Prince *Rupert* was landed in *France*, but the Lord *Jermyns* visited, and made great court to *St Edward Herbert*; between whom and him there had been greater shew of Animosity than between any two of the Nation who were beyond the Seas, they having for some years seldom spoken to, never well of, each other. And *Herbert*, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that he would have no Friendship with any Man who believ'd the other to be an honest Man. Between these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the Attorney is every day with the Queen, who had shew'd a greater Aversion from him than from any Man, not only upon the business of the Duke of *York*, but upon many other Occasions. But now she commended him to the King, "as a wise Man, of great Experience, and of great Interest in *England*."

*The Queen
Mother
moves the
King to
make Her-
bert Lord
Keeper; and
he is made.*

FROM the death of *St Richard Lane*, who had been Keeper of the Great Seal under his late Majesty, there had not only been no Officer in that place, but, from the defeat at *Worcester*, the King had been without any Great Seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employ'd a Graver to prepare a Great Seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that Office, whilst he remain'd abroad. But now the Queen pressed the King very earnestly, to make the Attorney General Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; which was a promotion very natural, Men ordinarily rising from the one Office to the other. The King knew the Man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when Prince *Rupert* came to him, he should be pressed both by his Mother and Him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believ'd that, if the Man himself were in good humour, he would be of great use in composing any ill humour that should arise in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majesty thought it best (since no body dissuaded him from the Thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the Prince came; and so call'd him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; with which he seem'd wonderfully delighted; and for some time liv'd well towards every Body; though, as to any thing of business, he appear'd only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against anything that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of Understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present State of Affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Be-

BEFORE the Prince came to *Paris* he gave the King such an account, as made it evident that his Majesty was to expect no Money: "that what Treasure had been gotten together, "which, he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been "all lost in the Ship in which himself was (that sprung a plank in the *Indies*, when his Highness was miraculously preserv'd) "and, in the Boat, carried to another Ship, when that the "*Antelope*, with all the Men, and all that had been gotten, "sunk in the Sea; and that much of the other purchase had "been likewise cast away in the Ship in which his Brother "perish'd; which was after his own misfortune: So that all that was brought into *Nantes*, would scarce pay off the Seamen, and discharge some debts at *Toulon*, which the Prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the King had been in *Holland*: And "that the Ships "were all so eaten with worms, even the *Swallow* it self, that "there was no possibility of setting them out again to Sea. This was all the Account the King could receive of that whole Affair, when the Prince himself came to *Paris*; with which though the King was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very ill that any Account should be required of Him; and the Keeper quickly perswaded his Highness, that it was only the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Influence, that disposed the King with so much strictness to examine his Account.

Prince Ru-
pert gives
an ill Ac-
count of his
Fleet.

THERE was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the Chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much Credit with his Master. When the King went into *Scotland*, Mr Robert Long, who hath been mention'd before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always a Creature of the Queen's, and dependent upon the Lord *Jermyns*, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in *Scotland* (for he was one of those who was remov'd from the King there, and sent out of that Kingdom) that when his Majesty return'd from *Worcester* to *Paris*, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his Majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any "Man to serve the King honestly, and to preserve the good "opinion of the Queen, and keep the Lord *Jermyns's* favour. The truth is, that Gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his Mother, and would not permit him to execute his Office, or to attend in his Councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and liv'd privately at *Row*; which was the reason that the Chancellor

An Affair
concerning
Mr Long;
who petitioned
the King to
be restored to
the Secretary-
ship's Place.

had been commanded to execute that place, which intided him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the Lord *Jermyn* and the Keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveigh'd against Mr *Long's* want of Fidelity, they agreed; that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the Chancellor's Credit, than by restoring *Long* to the execution of the Secretary's Function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a Petition to the King; "that he might be again restored to his Office and Attendance," "or that he might be charged with his Crimes, and be farther punish'd, if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent. This Petition was presented to the King, when he was in Council, by the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the King was surpris'd, having not in the least receiv'd any notice of it; and said, "that her Majesty was the principal Cause that induced his Majesty to remove him from "his place, and that she then believ'd that he was not fit for "the Trust. She said, "she had now a better opinion of "him, and that she had been misinform'd. The King thought it unfit to receive a Person into so near a Trust, against whose Fidelity there had been such publick exceptions; and his Majesty knew that few of his Friends in *England* would correspond with him; and therefore would not be perswaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the Chancellor's Account, and the influence he had upon the King.

is refused by
the King.

Whereupon
Mr Long
accuses the
Chancellor of
the Encha-
quer of his
having been
in England,
and convers-
ed with
Cromwell.

The business
heard in
Council:

Massonet
is produced
as a hear-
say witness
of it.

THEREUPON Mr *Long* accused the Chancellor of having betray'd the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in *England*, and had private conference with *Cromwell*: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laugh'd at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor pressed "that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof: And at that day, the Queen came again to the Council, that she might be present at the Charge. There Mr *Long* produced *Massonet*, a Man who had serv'd him, and afterwards been an Under-Clerk for writing Letters and Commissions, during the time of the King's being in *Scotland*, and had been taken Prisoner at *Worcester*; and, being released with the rest of the King's Servants, had been employed, from the time of the King's Return, in the same Service under the Chancellor; the Man having, before the Troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of *York*, and the rest of the King's Children to write, being indeed the best Writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any Man in that time.

MASSONET said, "that after his release from his Imprisonment, and whilst he staid in *London*, he spoke with a "Maid, who had formerly serv'd him, that knew the Chan-
cellor

“cellor very well; and who assured him, that one evening
 ‘she had seen the Chancellor go into *Cromwell’s* Chamber at
 ‘*White-Hall*; and after he had been shut up with him some
 ‘hours, she saw him conducted out again. And Mr *Long* de-
 sired time, that he might send over for this Woman, who
 should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse;
 the Chancellor said, “he would make no other defence, than
 “that there were Persons then in the Town, who, he was
 “confident, would avow that they had seen him once every
 “day, from the time he return’d from *Spain* to the day on
 “which he attended his Majesty at *Paris*; as indeed there
 were; and when he had said so; he offer’d to go out of the
 Room; which the King would not have him to do. But he
 told his Majesty, “that it was the course; and that he ought
 “not to be present at the Debate that was to concern himself;
 and the Keeper, with some warmth, said “it was true; and
 so he retired to his own Chamber. The Lord *Forbes*, as soon
 as he was gone, said, “he never thought the Accusation had
 “any thing of probability in it; and that he believ’d the
 “Chancellor a very honest Man; but the use that he thought
 “ought to be made of this Calumny, was, that it appear’d
 “that an honest and innocent Man might be calumniated, as
 “he thought Mr *Long* had likewise been; and therefore they
 “ought both to be clear’d. The Keeper said, “he saw not
 “ground enough to condemn the Chancellor; but he saw no
 “cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one
 “Witness which declared only what he had heard; but that
 “he undertook also to produce the Witness her self if he
 “might have time; which in justice could not be denied;
 “and therefore he proposed, that a competent time might be
 “given to Mr *Long* to make out his proof; and that in the
 “mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the Council:
 with which Proposition the King was so offended, that, with
 much warmth, he said, “he discern’d well the design; and
 “that it was so false and wicked a Charge, that, if he had no
 “other exception against Mr *Long* than this foul and foolish
 “Accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him. And
 therefore he presently sent for the Chancellor, and as soon as
 he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him,
 “he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more
 “justice than to declare him innocent; which he did do, and
 commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full Or-
 der for his Vindication, which his Majesty himself would
 sign.

*The King
acquits the
Chancellor.*

*The Keeper
accuses the
Chancellor of*

*the Exche-
quer of hav-
ing spoken ill
of the King.*

THE Keeper could not contain himself from appearing very
 much troubled: and said, “if what he heard from a Person of
 “honour, who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the
 “Chancellor

"Chancellor had asperfed the King in fuch a manner, and fo much reviled his Majesty in point of his honour, that he was not fit to fit there. The Chancellor was wonderfully furprised with the Charge; and humbly befought his Majesty, that the Lord Keeper might produce his Author, or he look'd upon as the Contriver of the Scandal. The Keeper answer'd, "that if his Majesty would appoint an hour the next day for the Council to meet, he would produce the Person who, he was confident, would juftify all he had faid.

The Lord Gerard produced to prove it.

THE next day, the King being fate in Council, the Keeper defired that the Lord Gerard might be called in; who prefently appear'd; and being ask'd, "whether he had at any time heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer fpeak ill of the King? he answer'd, Yes. And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had paffed between the Chancellor and Him a year before, when the King lay at *Chentilly*; "that one day, after dinner, the King took the Air, and being in the Field his Majesty alighted out of his Coach, and took his Horfe, with other of the Lords, to ride into the next Field to fee a Dog fet Partridge; and that he, the Lord Gerard, and the Chancellor remain'd in the Coach, when he enter'd into difcourfe of the King's condition; and faid, that he thought his Majesty was not active enough, nor did think of his bufinefs; and, that the Chancellor, who was known to have credit with him, ought to advife him to be active, for his Honour and his Intereft; otherwife his Friends would fall from him. But, that it was generally believ'd, that he, the Chancellor, had no mind that his Majesty fhould put himfelf into Action, but was rather for fitting ftill; and therefore it concern'd him, for his own juftification, to perfwade the King to be Active, and to leave France, where he could not but obferve that every body was weary of him. To all which the Chancellor took great pains to purge himfelf from being in the fault; and faid, that no body could think that he could take delight to ftay in a place where he was fo illufed; but laid all the fault upon the King; who, he faid, was indispos'd to bufinefs, and took too much delight in pleafures, and did not love to take pains; for which he was heartily forry, but could not help it; which Gerard faid, he thought was a great reproach and fcandal upon the King, from a Man fo oblig'd and trufted, who ought not to afperfe his Mafter in that manner.

The Chancellor's Defence.

THE Chancellor was a little out of countenance; and faid, he did not expect that Accufation from any body, lefs that the Lord Gerard fhould difcover any private difcourfe that had paffed a year before between them two, and which appear'd by his relation to have been introduced by himfelf, "and

"and by his own freedom : that whosoever believ'd that he
 "had a mind to traduce the King, would never believe that
 "he would have chosen the Lord *Gerard*, who was known
 "to be none of his Friend, to have communicated it to. He
 "said, "he did very well remember, that the Lord *Gerard* did,
 "at that time when they two remain'd alone in the Coach,
 "very passionately censure the King's not being Active, and
 "blamed him, the Chancellor, for not perswading his Maje-
 "sty to put himself into Action; and that He was generally
 "believ'd to be in the fault : upon which he had asked him,
 "what he did intend by being Active, and what that Action
 "was, and where, to which he wish'd the King should be per-
 "swaded ? He answer'd, with an increase of passion, and ad-
 "dition of Oaths, that rather than sit still in *France*, his Ma-
 "jesty ought to go to every Court in *Christendom* ; that instead
 "of sending an Embassadour who was not fit for any Business,
 "he should have gone himself to the Diet at *Ratisbona*, and
 "solicited his own business : which would have been more
 "effectual ; and that, if he could not find any other way to
 "put himself into Action, he ought to go into the High-
 "lands of *Scotland* to *Middleton*, and there try his Fortune.
 "To all which the Chancellor said, he did remember that he
 "replied, "he believ'd the King was indisposed to any of that
 "Action he propos'd : and though he did not believe, that he
 "had us'd those Expressions, of the King's delighting in plea-
 "sures, and not loving business so well as he ought to do, if
 "the Lord *Gerard* would positively affirm he had, he would
 "rather confess it, and submit himself to his Majesty's judge-
 "ment, if he thought such words proceeded from any malice
 "in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, continue the
 "Dispute : And then he offer'd to retire ; which the King
 "forbade him to do ; upon which the Keeper was very angry ;
 "and said, "the words amounted to an Offence of a high Na-
 "ture ; and that he was sorry his Majesty was no more sensi-
 "ble of them : that for any Man, especially a Counsellor, and
 "a Man in so near trust, to accuse his Master of not loving his
 "business, and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he
 "could to perswade all Men to forsake him ; and proceeding
 "with his usual warmth and positiveness, the King interrupted
 "him ; and said, "he did really believe the Chancellor had us'd
 "those very words, because he had often said That, and much
 "more to himself ; which he had never taken ill : that he
 "did really believe that he was himself in fault, and did not
 "enough delight in his business ; which was not very plea-
 "sant ; but he did not know that such putting himself in-
 "to Action, which was the common word, as the Lord
 "*Gerard* advis'd, was like to be attended with those benefits,
 "which

"which, he was confident, he wish'd. In fine, he declared, "he was very well satisfied in the Chancellor's Affection, and "took nothing ill that he had said; and directed the Clerk "of the Council to enter such his Majesty's Declaration in his "Book; with which both the Keeper and the Lord Gerard were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther publick attempts against the Chancellor, during the time of his Majesty's abode in *France*. But it may not be unreasonable to insert in this place, that after the King's return into *England*, there came the Woman to the Chancellor, who had been carried over to *Rouen* by *Massonet*, and importuned by Mr Long to testify that she had seen the Chancellor with *Cromwell*; for which she should have a present liberal reward in Money from him, and a good Service at *Paris*; which when the Woman refused to do, he gave her Money for her Journey back, and so she return'd: of which the Chancellor inform'd the King. But Mr Long himself coming at the same time to him, and making great Acknowledgements, and asking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr Long seem'd to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

THE King wearied with these domestick Vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his Entertainment, and the change he every day discover'd in the countenance of the *French* Court to him, grew very impatient to leave *France*; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive Money by the Return of Prince *Rupert* with that Fleet, he hoped that when the Prizes should be sold, and all the Sea-men discharged, and Prince *Rupert* be satisfied in his demands, which were very large, there would be still left the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackling, which (though they required great Charge to be fitted out again to Sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good Sum of Money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was remov'd; for there were, besides the Ship it self, fifty good Brass Guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His Majesty therefore writ to Prince *Rupert* (who was return'd to *Nantes* to discharge some Sea-men, who still remain'd, and to sell the rest of the Prizes) "that he should find some good Chapmen "to buy the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackle, at the value "they were worth; which was no sooner known at *Nantes*, than there appear'd Chapmen enough, besides the Marshal of *Melleray*, who being Governour of that place, and of the Province, had much Money always by him to lay out on such occasions. And the Prince writ the King word, "that he had "then a good Chapman, who would pay well for the Brass "Cannon; and that he should put off all the rest at good rates.

But

But he writ again the next Week, "that, when he had even finish'd the contract for the Brass Cannon, there came an Order from the Court, that no Man should presume to buy the Brass Cannon, and to Marshal *Melleray* to take care that they were not carried out of that Port.

THE Prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from *Cromwell*; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the *Swallow* it self, if not to the other Ships; and the Marshal contributed to, and cherished this jealousy, that the better Markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the Merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highness first came into that Port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and trust, "that he should use all expedition in the sale of the Prizes, lest either *Cromwell* should demand the whole (which he much doubted) or that the Merchants, Owners of the Goods, should upon the hearing where they were, send and arrest the said Ships and Goods, and demand restitution to be made of them in a course of Justice; in either of which cases, he said "he did not know, considering how things stood with *England*, what the Court would determine: though, he promised, he would extend his Authority to serve the Prince, as far as he could with his own safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any Orders he should receive, till the Prince might facilitate the dispatch: and by this kind Advice very good Bargains had been made for those Goods which had been sold; of which the Marshal had an Account to his own desire.

BUT when, upon this unwelcome Advertisement, the King made his Address to the Cardinal to revoke this Order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "that the Money, which should be raised upon the Sale of those Cannon, was the only means he had to remove himself out of *France*, which he intended shortly to do, and "to go to the hither parts of *Germany*, and that his Sister, the Princess of *Orange*, and He, had some thoughts of finding themselves together, in the beginning of the Summer, at the *Spain*: which indeed had newly enter'd into the King's consideration, and had been entertain'd by the Princess Royal; the Cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his Majesty, "that this Order was not newly made, but had been very Ancient; that no Merchants or any private Subjects, should buy any Brass Ordnance in any Port, lest ill use might be made of them; and that the Order was not now reviv'd with any purpose to bring any prejudice to his Majesty; who should be no loser by the restraint; for that him-

" self

"self would buy the Ordnance, and give as much for them as they were worth; in order to which, he would forthwith sent an Agent to *Nantes* to see the Cannon; and, upon conference with a Person employ'd by the King, they two should agree upon the price, and then the Money should be all paid together to his Majesty in *Paris*: intimating "that he would dispute the matter afterwards with *Cromwell*; as if he knew, or foresaw, that he would make some demand.

IT was well for the King that this condition was made for the payment of this Money in *Paris*; for of all the Money paid or receiv'd at *Nantes*, as well for the Ships, Tackle, and Ordnance, as for the Prize-Goods, not one penny ever came to the King's hands, or to his use, but what he receiv'd at *Paris* from the Cardinal for the Brass Guns which were upon the *Smallow*; for the valuing whereof the King sent one thither to treat with the Officer of the Cardinal. All the rest was dispos'd, as well as receiv'd, by Prince *Rupert*; who when he return'd to *Paris*, gave his Majesty a confused Account; and aver'd, "that the expences had been so great, "that there was not only no Money remaining in his hands, "but that there was a debt still due to a Merchant; which he desired his Majesty to promise to satisfy.

The King
resolves to go
into Ger-
many.

THE King's resolution to go into *Germany* was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of *France*, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his Majesty, who needed no spur for that journey, was the more dispos'd to it by the extraordinary importunity of his Friends in *England*; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the Cardinal and *Cromwell*, and knowing that the Alliance between them was very near concluded, and being inform'd that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majesty's Person might be given up; and thereupon they sent *Harry Seymour*, who, being of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, and having his leave to attend his own Affairs in *England*, they well knew would be believ'd by the King, and being address'd only to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the King privately and undiscover'd, and return again with security, as he, and divers Messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the Marquis of *Stafford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with the privacy of those few who were trusted by them, "to be very importunate with the King, "that he would remove out of *France*, and to commendate "to his Majesty all which they receiv'd from Persons who "were admitted into many of the secret resolutions, and pur-
"poses

Mr Harry
Seymour
sent to the
King from
his Friends
in England.

"poses of *Cresswell*. And because they well knew in what straits the King was for Money, they found some means at that time to send him a Supply of about three thousand pounds; which the King receiv'd, and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word likewise, "that wherever he should choose to reside out of *France*, they were confident "his Servants in *England*, under what persecution soever they lay, would send him some supply: but whilst he remain'd "in *France*, nobody would be prevail'd with to send to him. The King was glad to be confirm'd in the resolution he had taken, by his Friends advice; and that they had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his Debts were so great in *Paris*, and the Servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a Journey, that, if the Cardinal, over and above the Money for the Cannon (which the King did not desire to receive till the last) did not take care for the payment of all the Arrears, which were due upon the Assignments they had made to him, he should not be able to make his Journey.

BUT in this he receiv'd some ease quickly; for when the Cardinal was satisfied, that his Majesty had a full resolution to begone, which he still doubted, till he heard from *Holland* that the Princess Royal did really provide for her Journey to the *Span*, he did let the King know, "that, against "the time that his Majesty appointed his remove, his Arrears should be either entirely paid, or so much of his Debts The Cardi- "should be paid to his Creditors, as should well satisfy them; and nal pays the "the rest should be paid to his Receiver for the charge of King all his "the Journey; and likewise assured his Majesty, "that, for arrears from "the future, the monthly Assignation should be punctually France "paid to whomsoever his Majesty would appoint to receive "it. This promise was better comply'd with than any other that had been made, till, some years after, the King thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remember'd in its place.

ALL things being in this state, the King declared his resolution to begin his Journey, as soon as he could put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the Money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the Family to be ready to wait upon his Majesty, and for the better regulating, and governing it, when the King should be out of *France*; there having never been any order taken in it whilst he remain'd there, nor could be, because his Majesty had always eaten with the Queen, and her Officers had govern'd the expence; so that by the failing of receiving Money that was promised, and by the Queen's Officers receiving

ceiving all that was paid, to carry on the expence of their Majesty's Table, which the King's Servants durst not enquire into, very few of his Majesty's Servants had receiv'd any wages from the time of his coming from *Worcester* to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be contented with such a Proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave *Paris* and attend him. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obstruction, that he least suspected, from the extraordinary narrowness of the Cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The Agent he had sent to *Nantes* to view the Cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last, offer'd much less than they were worth, and than the other Merchant had offer'd, when the Injunction came that restrain'd him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propose in this. The Cardinal said, "he understood not the price of Cannon himself, and therefore he had employ'd a Man that did; and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by His Conduct; who assured him, that he offer'd as much as they could reasonably be valued at. It was moved on the King's behalf, "that he would permit others to buy them; which, he said, "he could not do, because of the King his Master's restraint; and if any Merchant, or other Person, should agree for them, *Cromwell* would demand them wherever they should be found; and there were not many that would dispute the Right with Him. In conclusion, the King was compell'd to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the Money, all allowance for paying it in Gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest Merchant, than by a Member of the sacred College, who would be esteem'd a Prince of the Church.

The Condition of King Charles the first's Children after their Father's death.

WHILST the King is preparing for his Journey to meet the Princess of *Orange*, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his Brothers and Sisters. After that the Princess *Henrietta* had been secretly convey'd from *Oatlands* into *France*, by the Lady *Moreton* her Governess, in the Year forty six; and the Duke of *York*, in the Year forty eight, had made his escape from *St James's*; where He, and the rest of the Royal Family that remain'd in *England*, were under the Care and Tuition of the Earl of *Northumberland*; the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the

the rest should remain longer under his Government. But the other two, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glacester*, were committed to the Councils of *Leicester*; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the Treasury, as might well defray their Expences with that respect that was due to their Birth; which was perform'd towards them as long as the King their Father liv'd. But as soon as the King was Murder'd, it was order'd that the Children should be remov'd into the Country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the Eyes and Application of People towards them. The Allowance was retrench'd; that their Attendants and Servants might be lessen'd; and order was given, "that they should be treated without any Addition of Titles, and that they should sit at their Meat as the Children of the Family did, and all at one Table. Whereupon they were remov'd to *Penhurst*, a House of the Earl of *Leicester's* in *Kent*; where they liv'd under the Tuition of the same Councils, who observ'd the Order of the Parliament with Obedience enough: yet they were carefully look'd to, and treated with as much respect as the Lady pretend'd she durst pay to them.

THERE, by an Act of Providence, Mr *Lovel*, an honest Man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of *Sunderland*, whose Mother was a Daughter of the House of *Leicester*, became likewise Tutor to the Duke of *Glacester*; who was, by that means, well taught in that Learning that was fit for his Years, and very well instructed in the Principles of Religion, and the Duty that he ow'd to the King his Brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant Nature, by what his memory retain'd of those Instructions which the King his Father had, with much fervour, given him before his death. But shortly after, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glacester*, were remov'd from the Government of the Councils of *Leicester*, and sent into the Isle of *Wight* to *Carisbrook* Castle; where *Mildmay* was Captain; and the Care of them committed to him, with an Assignment for their Maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, "that no Person should be permitted to kiss their hands, and "that they should not be otherwise treated than as the Children of a Gentleman; which *Mildmay* observ'd very exactly; and the Duke of *Glacester* was not call'd by any other Style than Mr *Henry*. The Tutor was continu'd, and sent thither with him; which pleas'd him very well. And here they remain'd at least two or three Years. The Princess died in this Place; and, according to the Charity of that time towards *Cromwell*, very many would have it believ'd to be by

Poyſon ; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

BUT whether this reproach and ſuſpicion made any impreſſion in the mind of *Cromwell*, or whether he had any jealouſy that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was now about twelve years of Age, and a Prince of extraordinary Hopes both from the Comelineſs and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, and the Vivacity and Vigour of his Wit and Underſtanding, which made him much ſpoken of, might, at ſome time or other, be made uſe of by the diſcontented Party of his own Army to give him trouble, or whether he would ſhew the contempt he had of the Royal Family, by ſending another of it into the World to try his Fortune, he did declare one day to the Parliament, “ that he was well content that the Son of the late King, who “ was then in *Carliſbrook* Caſtle, ſhould have liberty to Transport himſelf into any parts beyond the Seas, as he ſhould deſire : which was at that time much wonder’d at, and not believ’d ; and many thought it a preſage of a worſe inclination ; and for ſome time there was no more ſpeech of it. But notice and advice being ſent to the Duke by thoſe who wiſh’d his Liberty, that he ſhould proſecute the obtaining that Order and Releaſe, He, who deſired moſt to be out of reſtraint, ſent his Tutor, Mr *Level*, to *London*, to be adviſed by Friends what he ſhould do to procure ſuch an Order, and Warrant, as was neceſſary for his Transportation. And he, by the advice of thoſe who wiſh’d well to the Affair, did ſo dextrouſly ſollicite it, that he did not only procure an Order from the Parliament that gave him Liberty to go over the Seas with the Duke, and to require *Mildmay* to permit him to Embark, but likewiſe five hundred pounds from the Commiſſioners of the Treafury, which he receiv’d, to defray the Charges and Expences of the Voyage ; being left to provide a Ship himſelf, and being oblig’d to Embark at the Iſle of *Wight*, and not to ſuffer the Duke to go on Shore in any other part of *England*.

THIS happen’d in the latter end of the Year 1652 ; and was ſo well proſecuted, that, ſoon after, the King receiv’d advertisement from his Siſter in *Holland*, “ that the Duke of “ *Gloceſter* was arriv’d there ; and would be the next day with “ her ; which was no ſooner known than the Queen very earneſtly deſired, that he might be preſently ſent for to *Paris*, that ſhe might ſee him ; which ſhe had never done ſince he was about a year old ; for within ſuch a ſhort time after he was Born, the Troubles were ſo far advanced, that her Majeſty made her Voyage into *Holland*, and from that time had never ſeen him. The King could not reſuſe to ſatisfy his Mother in ſo reaſonable a deſire, though he did ſuſpect that there might

might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then own'd. And therefore he had dispatched presently a Messenger to the *Hague*, that his Brother might make all possible hast to *Paris*. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to *Paris*, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

Now all Expedition was used to provide for the King's remove, so generally desired of all ; and, for the future, the Charge of governing the Expences of the Family, and of payment of the Wages of the Servants, and indeed of issuing out all Monies, as well in Journies as when the Court resided any where, was committed to *Stephen Fox*, a young Man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord *Peirce*, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household. This *Stephen Fox* was very well qualified with Languages, and all other parts of Clerkship, Honesty, and Discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a Trust ; and indeed his great Industry, Modesty, and Prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the Family, which for so many Years had been under no Government, into very good Order ; by which his Majesty, in the pinching streights of his Condition, enjoy'd very much ease from the time he left *Paris*.

PRINCE *Rupert* was now return'd from *Nantes* ; and finding that he should receive none of the Money the Cardinal was to pay for the Brass Ordnance, and being every day more indisposed by the Chagrin Humour of the Keeper (who endeavoured to enflame him against the King, as well as against most other Men, and thought his Highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and Friendship for him, except he fell out with every Body with whom He was angry) resolv'd to leave the King ; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the forwardness of the other Man, by the despair that seem'd to attend the King's Fortune ; and told his Majesty, " that he was resolv'd to look after his own Affairs in *Germany* ; and first to visit his Brother in the *Palatinate*, and require what was due from him for his Appennage ; and then to go to the Emperor, to receive the Money that was due to him upon the Treaty at *Munster* ; which was to be all paid by the Emperor ; from the prosecution of which purpose his Majesty did not dissuade him ; and, possibly, heard it with more indifference than the Prince expected ; which raised his natural Passion ; insomuch, as the day when he took his leave, that no body might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon the King, he told his Majesty, " that, if he pleas'd, he might dispose of the place of Master of the Horse ; in which he had been settled by the late King ; and his present Majesty had, to pre-

Prince Rupert leaves the King : and goes into Germany.

Resigns to him the place of Master of the Horse.

serve that Office for him, and to take away the pretence the Lord *Piercy* might have to it, by his having had that Office to the Prince of *Wales*, recompensed Him with the place of Lord Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the King bore this Resignation likewise from the Prince with the same countenance as he had done his first Resolution; and so, towards the end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*, his Highness left the King, and begun his Journey for the *Palatinate*.

SHORTLY after the Prince was gone, the King began to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a List of his Servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his Journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a Conjunction, as God Almighty should give him, that might invite him to new Activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best he could for it, by having only such about him as could be quiet. He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the List of those who were to go with him, he left his Name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and asked him, "whether he did not intend that he should wait upon him? His Majesty told him, No; for "that he resolv'd to make no use of his Great Seal; and therefore that he should stay at *Paris*, and not put himself to the trouble of such a Journey, which he himself intended to "make without the ease and benefit of a Coach: which in truth he did, putting his Coach-Horses in a Waggon, wherein his Bed and Cloaths were carried: nor was he owner of a Coach in some years after. The Keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great Seal, and deliver'd it to him; and desir'd "that he would sign a Paper, in which "his Majesty acknowledged, that he had receiv'd again his Great Seal from him; which the King very willingly sign'd; and he immediately remov'd his Lodging, and left the Court; and never after saw his Majesty; which did not at all please the Queen; who was as much troubled that He was to stay where She was, as that he did not go with the King.

The Lord
Keeper Her-
bert resigns
his Office to
the King.

The Queen
prevails with
the King to
leave the
Duke of
Glocester
with her.

THE Queen prevailed with the King, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the Duke of *Glocester* with her; which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disobliging her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been bred, till he "came

"came into *France*, without Learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a Court, or good Company; and being now in a place, and at an Age, that he might be instructed in all these, to carry him away from all these Advantages to live in *Germany*, would be interpreted by all the world, not only to be want of kindness towards his Brother, but want of all manner of respect to Her. The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the King's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his Religion; which when the Queen had assured the King "was not in her thought, and that she would not permit any such attempt to be made, his Majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his Majesty to begin his Journey, the King desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might likewise part in the Queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, she having been so severe towards him, that he had not for some Months presum'd to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her Majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any Advance towards it. But the day before the King was to be gone, the Lord *Peirce*, who was directed by his Majesty to speak in the Affair, and who in truth had kindness for the Chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust, brought him word that the Queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the Afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her Majesty, they found her alone in her private Gallery, and the Lord *Peirce* withdrawing to the other end of the Room, the Chancellor told her Majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped, she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceiv'd against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her Majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his Duty, and receive her Commands, with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him. The Queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accusom'd to, told him, "that she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the King's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he liv'd in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all Men; and that all Men took notice, that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her Roof (for the House was hers) "and that she thought

“ she had not seen him in six Months before ; which she look’d upon as so high an Affront, that only her respect towards the King prevailed with her to endure it.

WHEN her Majesty made a pause, the Chancellor said, that her Majesty had only mention’d his punishment, and nothing of his fault : that how great soever his infirmities were in defect of Understanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in *Bedlam* ; which he had deserv’d to be, if he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the Queen’s disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her : that he had no kind of Apprehension that they who thought worst of him, would ever believe him to be such a Fool, as to provoke the Wife of his dead Master, the greatness of whose Affections to her was well known to him, and the Mother of the King, who subsisted by her favour, and all this in *France*, where himself was a banish’d Person, and she at home, where she might oblige, or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well assured, that no body would think him guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her Grace and Protection : that it was very true, he had been long without the presumption of being in her Majesty’s presence, after he had undergone many sharp Instances of her displeasure, and after he had observ’d some alteration and aversion in her Majesty’s looks and countenance, upon his coming into the Room where she was, and during the time he stay’d there ; which others likewise observ’d so much, that they withdrew from holding any conversation with him in those places, out of fear to offend her Majesty : that he had often desired, by several Persons, to know the cause of her Majesty’s displeasure, and that he might be admitted to clear himself from any unworthy Suggestions which had been made of him to her Majesty ; but could never obtain that honour ; and therefore he had conceiv’d, that he was obliged, in good manners, to remove so unacceptable an object from the eyes of her Majesty, by not coming into her presence ; which all who knew him, could not but know to be the greatest Mortification that could be inflicted upon him ; and therefore he most humbly besought her Majesty at this Audience, which might be the last he should receive of her, she would dismiss him with the knowledge of what had been taken amiss, that he might be able to make his innocence and integrity appear ; which he knew had been blasted by the malice of some Persons ; and thereby misunderstood and misinterpreted by her Majesty. But all this prevailed not with her Majesty ; who, after she had, with her former passion, objected his credit with the King, and his endeavours to lessen that

that Credit which she ought to have, concluded, "that she should be glad to see reason change her opinion; and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her Majesty departed to her Chamber.

IT was about the beginning of *June* in the year 1654, that *The King* the King left *Paris*; and because he made a private Journey the *first* night, and did not joyn his Family till the next day, *June 1654.* which administer'd much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold Person to publish, amongst the Amours of the *French* Court, a particular that reflected upon the Person of the King, though with less Licence than he used towards his own Sovereign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a Preservation God then wrought for the King, that was none of the least of his Mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shews the wonderful Liberty that was then taken by some near him, to promote their own designs, and projects, at the price of their Master's Honour, and the Interest of their Country, or the Sense they had of that Honour and Interest.

THERE was at that time in the Court of *France*, or rather in the jealousy of that Court, a Lady of great Beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a Wit and Behaviour that Captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her Extraction was very Noble, and her Alliance the best under the Crown, her Fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the Widow of a Duke of an Illustrious Name, who had been kill'd fighting for the King in the late Troubles, and left his Wife Childless, and in her full Beauty. The King had often seen this Lady with that esteem, and inclination, which few were without, both her Beauty, and her Wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The Earl of *Brissol*, who was then a Lieutenant General in the *French* Army; and always Amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this Lady; and to have the more power with her, communicated those Secrets of State which concern'd her safety, and more the Prince of *Condé*, whose Cousin German she was; the communication whereof was of benefit, or convenience to both: yet though he made many Romantick Attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other Man than himself; who was accusom'd to extraordinary flights in the Air, he could not arrive at the high success he propos'd. At the same time, the Lord *Crofts* was transported with the same Ambition; and though his Parts were very different from the others, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those Attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When

these two Lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity; they agreed generously to merit their Mistress's favour by doing her a Service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the Marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her Person: and they pursued it with his Majesty, with all their Artifices. They added the reputation of her Wisdom and Virtue to that of her Beauty, and "that she might be instrumental to the procuring more Friends "towards his Restoration, than any other Expedient, then in "view; and at last prevailed so far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect Esteem of her, that he made the Overture to her of Marriage; which she receiv'd with her natural modesty and address, declaring her self "to be much unworthy of that Grace; and beseeching and advising him "to "preserve that affection and inclination for an object more "equal to him, and more capable to contribute to his Service; using all those Arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and ensnare him to new importunities.

THOUGH these Lords made themselves, upon this Advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the French Court would obstruct it, as they had done that of *Mademoiselle*; nor could they persuade the Lady her self to depart from her Dignity, and to use any of those Arts which might expedite the design. The Earl of *Bristol* therefore, that the News might not come to his Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the King's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the Lady, "as a Person that would exceedingly cultivate the "King's Nature, and render him much more dextrous to advance his Fortune: and therefore he professed, "that he "would not dissuade his Majesty from gratifying so noble an "affection; and used many Arguments to persuade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproach'd his great Presumption for interposing in an Affair of so delicate a nature, as by his Conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he seem'd resolv'd to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King's own Inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own Condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a Marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his Cause; and so resolv'd to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same Persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary Generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his Mother, he went so much out of his

his way as to visit her at her House; where those Lords made their last effort; and his Majesty, with great esteem of the Lady's Virtue, and Wisdom, the next day joyn'd his Family, and prosecuted his Journey towards *Flanders*; his small step out of the way, having raised a confident rumour in *Paris* that he was Married to that Lady.

THE King had receiv'd a Pass from the Arch-Duke for his passing through *Flanders*, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his Journey; and he found the Gates of *Cambray* shut when he came thither, and was compell'd to stay long in the Afternoon, before they were open'd to receive him; which they excused, The King comes to Cambray in his Journey. "by reason that they understood the Enemy was at hand,

"and intended to sit down before that City; of which there appear'd in the face of all the People, and the Governour himself, a terrible Apprehension. But, upon recollection, his Majesty was well receiv'd by the Governour, and treated and lodged that night by him in his House; who was the better compos'd by his Majesty's assuring him, "that the *French* Army was at a great distance from him, and that his Majesty had pass'd through it the day before (when Marshal *Therouze* had drawn up the Army to receive his Majesty; the Duke of *York* having there likewise taken his leave of the King) "and by the march that they then appear'd to make, "there was great reason to conclude that they had no design "upon *Cambray*; which good information made the King's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that Supper, and Lodging that Night, his Majesty had not the least Address from the Arch-Duke, who was within four or five Leagues with his Army, but pass'd without the least notice taken of him, through those Provinces; so great a terror possess'd the hearts of the *Spaniards*, lest their shewing any respect to the King in his passage through their Country, should incense *Cromwell* against them, whose friendship they yet seem'd to have hope of. The King passes thro' Flanders without being taken notice of by the Arch-Duke.

HIS Majesty intended to have made no stay, having receiv'd Letters from the *Hague*, that his Sister was already in her Journey for the *Spaw*. But, when he came to *Mons*, he found two Gentlemen there, who came out of *England* with Letters and Instructions from those of his Friends there who retain'd their old Affections. By them his Majesty was inform'd, that many of them recover'd new Courage from the General discontent which possess'd the Kingdom, and which fairs in every day encreased by the continual Oppressions, and Tyranny they sustain'd. The Taxes and Impositions every day were augmented, and *Cromwell*, and his Council, did greater At Mons he meets with Messengers to him from his Friends in England. They notify to him the State of Affairs in England, relating chiefly to Cromwell and his Army

Acts of Sovereignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All Goals were full of such Persons as contradicted their Commands, and were suspected to wish well to the King; and there appear'd such a rend among the Officers of the Army, that the Protector was compell'd to displace many of them, and to put more confiding Men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be apply'd for his Security, so it prov'd of great Reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the licence of the Common Soldiers, manifested in their general and publick discourses, censures, and reproaches of Him; and his Tyrannical proceedings (which Liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the Affections, and Inclinations of other Men, and for his Service) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were Soldiers of this, or that Regiment, and under this or that Captain, whose Officers he knew well hated him, and who had their Soldiers so much at their Devotion, that they could lead them upon any Enterprize: and he knew well that this seditious Spirit possessed many of the principal Officers both of Horse and Foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore lov'd him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by *Lambert*, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholick, and undiscern'd Spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any Reformation (which the Army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they fear'd not his proceeding by a Council of War, where they knew they had many Friends) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deserr'd it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own Stars, he cashier'd ten or a dozen Officers, though not of the highest Command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others; and most pernicious to Him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touch'd by it, and that the Men who had done so much mischief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular Men, did not only lose all their credit with the Soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation toward all other Men. This gave him more ease than he had before enjoy'd, and rais'd his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like Provocations, and gave him great credit, and authority, with those who had believ'd that many Officers had a greater influence upon the Army than himself.

IT was very evident that he had some War in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a Peace with the *Dutch*, he took greater care to encrease his Stores and Magazines of Armes and Ammunition, and to build more Ships, than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great Fleets in the Winter, under Officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and Land-men were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal Officers amongst these, made great professions of Duty to the King; and made tender of their Service to his Majesty by these Gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a days stay at *Mons*, to dispatch those Gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such Commissions were prepared for them, and such Instructions, as were desired by those who employ'd them. And his Majesty gave nothing so much in *The King* Charge to the Messengers, and to all his Friends in *England* *advise his* with whom he had correspondence, as "that they should live *Friends in* quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable stir *England to* tempt, or giving advantage to those who watch'd them, to *be quiet.* put them into Prison, and to ruin their Estates and Families. He told them, "the vanity of imagining that any Insurrection could give any trouble to so well a form'd and disciplin'd Army, and the destruction that must attend such a rash attempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture his own Person with them in any reasonable, and well form'd undertaking; so he would with patience attend God's own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no judgement: however, it was very necessary that such Commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able Men, in Expectation of two Contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a Schism in the Army, as might divide it upon contrary Interests into open Contests, and Declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal Schism in the Government: the other, the death of *Cromwell*, which was conspir'd by the Levellers, under several Combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagin'd, that the Army would remain united to the particular design of any single Person, but that the Parliament, which had been with so much violence turn'd out of doors by *Cromwell*, and which took it self to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme Government.

LAMBERT, who was unquestionably the second Person in the Command of the Army, and was thought to be the first in their Affections, had had no less hand than *Cromwell* himself

self in the Dissolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raising him to be Protector under the Instrument of Government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employ'd by them in the absolute Command of an Army that had already so notoriously rebell'd against their Masters. Then *Monk*, who had the absolute Command in *Scotland*, and was his Rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the Government of *Lambert*, if he had no other Title to it than his own presumption; and *Harry Cromwell* had made himself so popular in *Ireland*, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a Man whom he knew to be his Father's greatest Enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in *England* who were the most wary and averse from any rash Attempt, that they all wish'd that Commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the King, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mention'd, and of which few Men thought there was reason to despair.

The King arrives at the Spaw where he meets the Princess of Orange.

THE King having in this manner dispatch'd those Messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his Friends, continued his Journey from *Mons* to *Namur*; where he had a pleasant passage by Water to *Leige*; from whence, in five or six hours, he reach'd the *Spaw*, the next day after the Princess Royal, his beloved Sister, was come thither, and where they resolv'd to spend two or three Months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the Joy of being out of *France*, where his Majesty had enjoy'd no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the Company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his Sister to stay longer from her own Affairs in *Holland*, than the pretence of her health required, so the *Spaw* was a place that no body could stay longer in than the season for the Waters continued; which ended with the Summer.

The Earl of Rochester returns to the King from Ratisbone.

THE King no sooner arriv'd at the *Spaw*, than the Earl of *Rochester* return'd thither to him from his Negotiation at *Ratisbone*; where he had remain'd during the Diet, without owning the Character he might have assumed; yet perform'd all the Offices with the Emperour, and the other Princes, with less noise, and expence, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the *German* Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a King of the *Romans*, was of vast expence to every one of them, and full of Faction, and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think

think of any business but what concern'd themselves: yet in the close of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of *Mentz*, who was esteem'd the wisest, and most practical Prince of the Empire, and who, out of meer generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King; that Assembly was prevail'd with to grant a Subsidy of four Romer Months; which is the measure of all Taxes, and impositions in *Germany*; that is, by the Romer Months, which every Prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their Subjects in their own method. This Money was to be paid towards the better support of the King of great *Britain*. And the Elector of *Mentz*, by his own Example, persuaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of *Rocheſter*; who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole Contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable Sum upon so important an occasion. But the Emperour himself paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongst whom were the Elector *Palatine*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel*, who had both receiv'd great obligations from King *James*, and the last King his Son: So that the whole that was ever paid to the King, did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling; a great part whereof was spent in the Negotiation of the Earl, and in the many Journeys he made to the Princes, being extremely possessed with the Spirit of being the King's General, which he thought he should not be, except he made Levies of Men; for which he was very solicitous to make Contracts with old *German* Officers, when there was neither Port in view, where he might Embark them, nor a possibility of procuring Ships to Transport them, though *Cromwell* had not been possessed of any Naval power to have resisted them; so blind Men are, whose Passions are so strong, and their judgement so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

The King obtains a small subsidy from the Diet in Germany.

THAT part of the Money that was paid to his Majesty's use, was managed with very good Husbandry, and was a reasonable support to his well order'd Family, which with his own Expences for his Table, and his Stable, and the Board-Wages, with which all his Servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left *France*, amounted not to above six hundred Pistoles a Month; which expence was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into *Holland* in order to his Return into *England*. This method in the managery gave the King great ease; contented, and kept the Family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected; and was the more satisfactory, by the no-care, and order, that had been

The monthly Expences of the King's small Family.

observed during all the residence the King had made in *France*:

*The King
removes to
Aken from
the Spaw.*

THE King stay'd not so long at the *Spaw* as he meant to have done, the small Pox breaking out there; and one of the young Ladies who attended upon the Princess Royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his Majesty, and his Sister, upon very suddain thoughts, remov'd from the *Spaw* to *Aken*, or *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial, and Free Town, govern'd by their own Magistrates; where the King of the *Romans* ought to receive his first Iron Crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot Baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold Waters of the *Spaw*, and was a part of the prescription which the Physicians had made to the Princess, after she should have finish'd her Waters in the other Place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those Baths, the Courts remov'd now thither; but in truth with a design that the King might make his Residence there, the Town being large, and the Country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the Journies in those Countries are measured by hours) of *Maebricht*, the most pleasant Seat within the Dominions of the United Provinces. The Magistrates receiv'd the King so Civilly, that his Majesty, who knew no other Place where he was sure to be admitted, resolv'd to stay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient House, which belonged to one who was called a Baron; whither he resolv'd to remove, as soon as his Sister, who had taken the two great Inns of the Town for Her's, and the King's Accommodation, should return into *Holland*.

*Secretary
Nicholas
comes hither
to the King,
and the King
gives him
the Signet.*

HERE the good old Secretary *Nicholas*, who had remain'd in *Holland* from the time that, upon the Treaty of *Breda*, the King had Transported himself into *Scotland*, presented himself to his Majesty; who receiv'd him very graciously, as a Person of great Merit and Integrity from the beginning of the Troubles, and always entirely trusted by the King his Father. And now to him the King gave his Signet; which for three years had been kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of Friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refus'd in *France* to be admitted into the Secretary's Office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advis'd it, did it rather that *Nicholas* might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself oblig'd by the Friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to *Aken*, desired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a fast Friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

*The accounts
the King re-
ceives here
out of Eng-
land.*

WHEN the King remain'd at *Aken*, he receiv'd many Expresses out of *England*, which inform'd him of the renew'd courage

courage of his Friends there: that the Faction and Animosity, which every day appear'd between the Officers of the Army, and in *Cromwell's* Council, upon particular Interest, rais'd a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either Party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an Intelligence enter'd into throughout the Kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the King to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more Commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The King renew'd his Commands to them, "not He gives the same advice as before to his Friends. to flatter themselves with vain imaginations; nor to give "too easy credit to appearances of Factions and Divisions; "which would always be counterfeted, that they might the "more easily discover the Agitations, and Transactions of those "upon whom they look'd as inveterate and irreconcilable "Enemies to the Government.

News came from *Scotland*, that *Middleton* had some Successes in the High-lands; and the *Scotish* Lords who were Prisoners in *England*, assured the King, "that there was now so "entire a Union in that Nation for his Service, that they "wisd his Majesty himself would venture thither: and the Lord *Balcarris*, who was with the King, and entrusted by that People, used much Instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the Advice seem'd to be, Men knew not how to contradict by proposing any thing that seem'd more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, it was thought, his Majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his Sovereignty.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer one day representing to the King the sadness of his condition, and the general discourses of Men, and, "that it was his Majesty's misfortune to "be thought by many not to be active enough towards his "own redemption, and to love his ease too much, in respect "both of his Age, and his Fortune, desired him "to consider upon this news, and importunity from *Scotland*, whether "in those High-lands there might not be such a safe retreat "and residence, that he might reasonably say, that with the "affections of that People, which had been always firm both "to his Father and Himself, he might preserve himself in safety, though he could not hope to make any advance, or recover the lower Part of that Kingdom possessed by the Enemy; and if so, whether he might not expect the good hand "of Providence, by some Revolution, more honourably "There

The King's
Reply.

"There, than in such Corners of other Princes Dominions, as he might be forced to put himself into. His Majesty discoursed very calmly of that Country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the People, and their course of Life; and how "impossible it was for him to live there with security or with health; that, if sickness did not destroy him, which he had reason to expect from the ill Accommodation he must be there contented with, he should in a short time be betray'd and given up. And in this Debate, he told him that melancholick Conclusion, which *David Lesley* made at *Warrington Bridge*, which is mention'd before, when he told the King, "that those Men would never fight; which his Majesty had never, he said, told to any body before. However, he said, "if his Friends would advise him to that Expedition, "he would transport himself into the High-lands; though he "knew what would come of it, and that they would be sorry "for it: which stopp'd the Chancellor from ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not long after that news came, of *Middleton's* having been like to be given up to the Enemy by the treachery of that People, and of the defeat his Troops had receiv'd, and that he should be at last forced to quit that miserable Country; which, however, he resolv'd to endure, as long as should be possible.

THE Season of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the Princess Royal to return to the *Hague*, left the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some Act prejudicial to her, and her Son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind Differences between Her and the Princess Dowager, Mother of the deceased Prince of *Orange*, a Lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own interest. The air of *Athen*, and the ill smell of the Baths, made that place less agreeable to the King than at first he believ'd it to be; and he wish'd to find a better Town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The City of *Cologne* was distant from *Athen* two short days Journey, and had the fame of an excellent Situation. But the People were reported to be of a proud and mutinous Nature, always in Rebellion against their Bishop and Prince, and of so much Bigottry in Religion that they had expelled all Protestants out of their City, and would suffer no exercise of Religion, but of the Roman Catholick. So that there seem'd little hope that they would permit the King to reside there; the rather, because it was the Staple for the Wines of that Country, and maintain'd a good intelligence and trade with *England*. If the King should send thither to provide a House, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places,

places, and *Aken* it self, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that Adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the Princess Royal should make *Cologne* her way into *Holland*, which was reasonable enough, by the convenience of the River for the commodious Transportation of her Goods, and Family: and the King, accompanying her so far, might make a judgement, upon his observation, whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to *Aken*; where he would leave his Family, as the place where he had taken a House, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left *Aken*, about the middle of *September*; and Lodging one Night at *Julliers*, a little dirty Town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a Quarrel between so many of the Princes of *Europe*, nor of this fame it got by the Siege, they came the next day to *Cologne*; In September the King and his Sister came to Cologne. where they were receiv'd with all the Respect, Pomp, and Magnificence, that could be expected, or the City could perform. The House which the Harbingers of the Princess had taken for her Reception, serv'd likewise to accommodate the King; and the Magistrates perform'd their Respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

COLOGNE is a City most pleasantly Situated upon the Banks of the *Rhine*; of a large extent, and fair and substantial Buildings; and encompassed with a broad and excellent Rampart, upon which are fair Walks of great Elms, where two Coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the Walls of *Antwerp*, but rather superior, because This goes round the Town. The Government is under the Senate and Consuls; of whom there was one then Consul, who said "he was descended from Father to Son of a Patri-clan Roman-Family, that had continued from the time the Colony was first planted there. It had never been otherwise subject to the Bishops, than in some points which refer to their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; which They sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the Magistrates always oppose: and that gives the subject of the discourse of Jealousies, and Contentests, between their Prince and Them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never resides there, but keeps his Court at his Castle of *Bonn*, near four Miles from thence. And that Elector, who was of the House of *Bavaria*, and a melancholick and pervers Man, had not then been in the City in very many years. The Number of Churches and Religious Houses is incredible; inasmuch as it was then averr'd, "that the Religious Persons and Church-men made up a full moiety of the Inhabitants of the Town; and Their Interest and Authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the King came

thither, they expell'd all those of the Protestant Religion, contrary to the Advice of the wisest of the Magistrates; who confessed "that the Trade of the Town was much decayed "thereby, and the Poverty thereof much encreased. And it is very possible, that the vast Number, and unskilful Zeal of the Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons, may at some time expose that noble City to the surprise of some powerful Prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoy'd Privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's stay there, a design of the *French* to have surpris'd it; *Schomberg* lying many days in wait there, to have perform'd that Service; which was very hardly prevented. The People are so much more civil than they were reported to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the Laws of Society and Conversation better than any other People of *Germany*. To the King they were so devoted; that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at *Alex*, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that City could yield him; and of all the Affection and Duty they could pay him; which his Majesty most willingly accepted; and giving Order for the payment of the rent of the House he had taken at *Alex*, which he had not at all us'd, and other disbursements, which the Master of the House had made to make it the more convenient for his Majesty, and likewise sending very gracious Letters to the Magistrates of that Town, for the civility they had express'd towards him, he sent for that part of his Family which remain'd there, to attend him at *Cologne*; where he declared he would spend that Winter.

The Citizens
invite the
King to re-
side there.

The King
stays there.

AS SOON as the King came to *Cologne*, he sent to the Neighbour Princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that Money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own concession, they were oblig'd to pay to his Majesty; which though it amounted to no great Sum, yet it was of great conveniency to his Support. The Duke of *Newburgh*, whose Court was at *Dusseldorp*, a small days Journey from *Cologne*, and by which the Princess Royal was to pass if she made use of the River, sent his Proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of Entertain-
"ing the King, and his Sister, in his Palace, as she return'd. However he forbore to make any solemn Invitation, without which they could not make the Visit, till some Ceremonies were first adjust'd; upon which that Nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other People in *Europe*. He who gave the Intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his Majesty's and her Royal Highness's Arrival in those parts,

parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of Moment, and the rest were Formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "that the King, at their first meeting, should at least "once treat the Duke with *Altesse*; the other, "that the "Duke might salute the Princess Royal; and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. But the King and his Sister were naturally enough inclined to new fights, and festivities; and the King thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the *German* Princes: and among Them, there were few more considerable in their Dominions, and none in their Persons, than the Duke of *Newburgh*; who reckon'd himself upon the same Level with the Electors. And the King was inform'd, "that the Emperour himself always treated him with *Altesse*; and therefore his Majesty made no Scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the Princess Royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserv'd, from the time of her coming into *Holland*, that the old Prince of *Orange*, Father of her Husband, would never pretend to it: yet that Ceremony depending only upon the custom of Countries, and the Duke of *Newburgh* being a Sovereign Prince, inferior to none in *Germany*, and his Embassy always covering before the Emperour, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highness consented, that the Duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any Noise, the King, about the middle of *October*, accompanied his Sister by Water to *Dusseldorp*; where they arriv'd between three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and found the Duke and his Duchess waiting for them on the side of the Water; where after having perform'd their mutual Civilities and Compliments, the King, and the Princess Royal, and the Duke and the Duchess of *Newburgh*, went into the Duke's Coach, and the Company into the Coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the Castle, that was very near; where his Majesty was conducted into his Quarter, and the Princess into hers, the Duke and the Duchess immediately retiring into their own Quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the King again till above half an hour before Supper, and after the King and Princess had perform'd their Devotion.

THE Castle is a very princely House, having been the Seat of the Duke of *Cleve*; which Duchy, together with that of *Juliers*, having lately fallen to Heirs Females (whereof the Mothers of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Duke of *Newburgh*, were two) when all the Pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of *Dusseldorp*, by

agreement, afterwards remain'd still to *Newburg*; whose Father, being of the Reform'd Religion in the late contention, found the House of *Brandenburg* too strong for him, by having the Prince of *Orange* and the States his fast Friends; and thereupon, that he might have a strong Support from the Emperour and King of *Spain*, became Roman Catholick, and thereby had the Assistance he expected. At the same time he put his Son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits; by which Education, the present Duke was with more than ordinary Bigottry zealous in the Roman Religion.

He was a Man of very fine parts of knowledge; and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any *German*. He had the flowing civility, and language of the *French*, enough restrain'd, and control'd by the *German* gravity and formality; so that, altogether, he seem'd a very accomplish'd Prince, and became himself very well, having a good Person, and graceful Motion: He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the Sister of the former, and the then King of *Poland*; who leaving only a Daughter, he was now newly married to the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*; who upon her marriage became Roman Catholick. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the *French* Language and Vivacity, to contribute to the Entertainment; so that she was rather a Spectator of the festivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the Tables which were prepared for the Lords and the Ladies, as That where his Majesty and his Sister and the Duke and the Duchess only sat: the meals, according to the custom of *Germany*, very long, with several sorts of Musick; both of Instruments and Voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differ'd much from what his Majesty was accusom'd to hear. There was Wine in abundance, but no Man press'd to drink, if he call'd not for it; and the Duke himself an Enemy to all excesses.

AFTER two days spent in this manner, in which time the King made a great Friendship with the Duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the River, distant another short day's Journey, a handsome open Town of good receipt, call'd *Santen*, belonging to that part of the Duchy of *Cleve* which was assign'd to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the King resolv'd to accompany his Sister thither; where having spent that Night, the next Morning her Royal Highness, after an unwilling Farewel, prosecuted her Journey to *Holland*, and his Majesty return'd by Horse to *Cologne*; where the same House was prepared for him in which He and his Sister had inhabited, whilst she staid there. And by this time the end of *October* was come; which, in those parts, is more than

The King brings his Sister to Santen in the Duchy of Cleve: where they part; and the King returns to Cologne.

than the entrance into Winter. The Magistrates of the City renew'd their civilities, and professions of respect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and He, being well refresh'd with the diversifements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great chearfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his Closet; which he employed in reading, and studying, both the *Italian* and *French* Languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the Walls of the Town (for, as is said before, he had no Coach, nor would suffer his Sister to leave him one.) and sometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

His way of life there.

THE Nuntio of the Pope resided in that City, and perform'd all respects to his Majesty: He was a proper and grave Man, an *Italian* Bishop, who never made the least scruple at his Majesty's enjoying the liberty of his Chapel, and the exercise of his Religion, though it was very publick; so that in truth his Majesty was not without any respect that could be shew'd to him in those parts, save that the Elector never came to see him, though he liv'd within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that City; though it proceeded as much from the fullness, and moroseness of his Nature, unsuited for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small Quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other Prince, or Gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complain'd of, since the Elector *Palatine*, so nearly allied to the Crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being so near him, or to send a Messenger to salute him.

WITHIN a short time after his Majesty's return to *Cologne*, *An account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert the Duke of Gloucester in his Religion.* he receiv'd news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From *Paris*, his Majesty heard, that the Queen had put away the Tutor he had left to attend his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*; who remain'd at *Paris*, upon her Majesty's desire, that he might learn his Exercises. The Queen had conferr'd with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, in respect of the King his
"Brother's fortune, and the little hope that appear'd that his
"Majesty could ever be restored, at least if he did not him-
"self become Roman Catholick; whereby the Pope, and
"other

"other Princes of that Religion, might be united in his quar-
 "rel; which they would never undertake upon any other ob-
 "ligation: that it was therefore fit that the Duke, who had
 "nothing to support him, nor could expect any thing from the
 "King, should be instructed in the Roman Catholick Reli-
 "gion; that so, becoming a good Catholick, he might be ca-
 "pable of those advantages which her Majesty should be able
 "to procure for him: That the Queen of *France* would here-
 "upon confer Abbies, and Benefices upon him, to such a va-
 "lue, as would maintain him in that splendor as was suitable
 "to his Birth: that, in a little time, the Pope would make
 "him a Cardinal; by which he might be able to do the King
 "his Brother much service, and contribute to his Recovery;
 "whereas, without this, he must be expos'd to great necessi-
 "ty, and misery, for that she was not able any longer to give
 "him maintenance. She found the Duke more resolute than
 she expected from his Age; he was so well instructed in his
 Religion, that he disputed against the change; urged the
 precepts he had receiv'd from the King his Father, and his dy-
 ing in the Faith he had prescribed to him; put her Majesty
 in mind of the promise she had made to the King his Bro-
 ther at parting; and acknowledged "that he had obliged him-
 "self to his Majesty, that he would never change his Reli-
 "gion; and therefore besought her Majesty, that she would
 "not farther press him, at least till he should inform the King
 "of it. The Queen well enough knew the King's mind, and
 thought it more excusable to proceed in that Affair without
 imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the Autho-
 rity of a Mother, and remov'd his Tutor from him; and com-
 mitted the Duke to the care of Abbot *Mountague* her Almo-
 ner; who, having the pleasant Abby of *Pontoise*, entertain'd
 his Highness there, sequester'd from all resort of such Persons
 as might confirm him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the King receiv'd this Advertisement, which
 both the Duke and his Tutor made hast to transmit to him, he
 was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majesty
 knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his En-
 mies, who took all the pains they could to perwade the world,
 that he himself had changed his Religion; and though his ex-
 ercise of it was so publick, wherever he was, that Strangers
 resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impu-
 dence was such in their positive averment, that they perswad-
 ed many in *England*, and especially of those of the Reform'd
 Religion abroad, that his Majesty was in truth a Papist: and
 his leaving his Brother behind him in *France*, where it was
 evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would
 be an Argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the
 other

other side, he knew well the little credit he had in *France*, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his Mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the Marquis of *Ormond* with all possible Expedition into *France*; *The King sends the Marquis of Ormond into France for him.* who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his Commands. He writ a Letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her (to discontinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* to repair with the Marquis of *Ormond* to his presence. He commanded the Duke "not to consent to any Propositions which should be made to him for the change of his Religion; and that he should follow the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and accompany him to *Cologne*. And he directed the Marquis of *Ormond* "to let Mr *Mountague*, and whosoever of the *English* should joyn with him, know, that they should expect such a resentment from his Majesty, if they did not comply with his Commands, as should be suitable to his honour, and to the affront they put upon him.

THE Marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the King made with her, and imputed all the King's sharpness and resolution to the Counsel he received from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both against the King's and his own Will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's Letter, declared "that he would obey his Majesty; and the Abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the King, if he persisted in advising the Queen not to comply with his Majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days deliberation, the Queen expressing very much displeasure at the King's proceeding; and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a Mother, told the Marquis, "that the Duke might dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she would not concern her self farther, nor see him any more. And thereupon the Duke put himself into the hands of the Marquis; who immediately removed him from *Pontoise* to the House of the Lord *Hutton*, an *English* Lord, who lived then in *Paris*; where he remain'd for some days, until the Marquis could borrow Money (which was no easy matter) to defray the Journey to the King. And then they quickly left *Paris*; *The Marquis brings the Duke to Cologne.* and shortly after came to the King; who was extremely satisfied with the Marquis's Negotiation and Success; and kept his Brother always with him, till the time that he return'd into *England*, the Queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

INNOCENT the tenth was now dead; who had out-liv'd the Understanding and Judgement he had been formerly Master of, and lost all the Reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as *Jeboram*, departed without being desired. He had fomented the Rebellion in *England* by cherishing that in *Ireland*; whither he had sent a light-headed Nuntio who did much mischief to his Majesty's Service, as hath been touched before. The World was in great expectation who should suc-

The Duke of Newburgh sends the King word, that Cardinal Chigi was chosen Pope, and his discourse with his Majesty concerning making some applications to the Pope for supply and assistance.

ceeded Him, when, one day, the Duke of *Newburgh* sent a Gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal *Chigi* was chosen Pope; "of which, the Duke said, "his Majesty had great cause to be glad; which the King understood not. But, the next day, the Duke himself came to the King, and told him, "that he came to Congratulate with his Majesty for "the Election of the new Pope, who call'd himself *Alexander* "the seventh; and who, he said, he was confident, would do "him great Service; and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between Him and the new Pope, when he was Nuntio at *Cologne*, some years before: When They two conferring together ("as, he said, "there was great confidence, "and Friendship between them) of the Rebellion in *England*, and of the execrable Murder of the late King, the Nuntio broke out into great Passion, even with Tears, and said, "it "was a monstrous thing that the two Crowns should weary "and spend each others Strength, and Spirits, in so unjust and "groundless a War, when they had so noble an occasion to "unite their Power to Revenge that impious Murder, in "which the Honour, and the Lives of all Kings, were concerned; and, he said, the Pope was concern'd never to let "either of them so be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and "obliged all Christian Kings and States, without consideration of any difference in Religion, to joyn together for the "Restoration of the King; which would be the greatest Honour the Pope could obtain in this World. All which, he said, "the Nuntio spoke with so much warmth and concernment, that he could not doubt, but that now God had "raised him to that Chair, he hoped, for that end, he would "remember his former opinion, and execute it himself; being, he said, "a Man of the most publick heart, and the most "superior to all private designs, that the World had: the Duke taking great delight to remember many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a Man, as he was generally believ'd to be for the first two years of his Reign, till he manifested his Affections with more Ingenuity. The Duke desired his Majesty to consider, "whether there might not be "somewhat he might reasonably wish from the Pope; and if "it were not fit to be proposed as from his Majesty, he would

"would

“be willing to promote it in his own Name, having, he thought, some Interest in his Holiness. And, he said, “he was resolv’d to send a Person purposely to *Rome* with his Congratulation, and to render his Obedience to the Pope; and that he would instruct that Person in whatsoever his Majesty should wish: and though he could not hope, that any greater matter would be done towards his Majesty’s Restoration, till the Peace should be effected between the two Crowns (which he knew the Pope would labour intill he had brought it to pass) yet he could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of his Holiness, his Majesty would receive some Supply towards his better Support; which, for the present, was all that could be expected: that the Person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, who was at that present in *Newburgh*; but he had, or would send for him: that though he was a Religious Man, yet he was a Person of that Experience, Temper, and Wisdom, that he had entrusted him in Affairs not only of the greatest Secrecy, but in Negotiations of the greatest Importance; in which he had always behaved himself with singular Prudence and Judgement; and he assured his Majesty “he was equal to any Trust; and if, upon what he had said and offer’d, his Majesty thought he might be of use to him in his Journey, he would send him to *Cologne* as soon as he came, that he might attend upon his Majesty, and receive any Commands, he would vouchsafe to lay upon him.

THOUGH the King had in truth very little hope that the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the Maxim, with which *Emperors* had answer’d those who would have dispos’d him to supply the King with some Money, “that he could not, with a good Conscience, apply the Patrimony of the Church to the assistance and support of Hereticks, would be as current Divinity with *Alexander*, and all his Successors, yet he could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness of the Duke of *Newburgh*, and could not conclude how far his Interposition might prevail upon a Temper and Constitution so refin’d, and without those Drugs which others had used to carry about them to that Promotion: therefore, after these acknowledgements which were due for the Overtures, his Majesty told him, “that he would entirely commit it to his Wisdom, to do those Offices with the new Pape as he thought fit, since he could expect nothing but upon that Account; and that he would do any thing on His part which was fit for him to do, and which should be thought of moment to facilitate the other Pretences. Whereupon the Duke told him, “that the bloody Laws in *England* against the Roman Catholick Religion “made

“made a very great noise in the World; and that his Majesty
 “was generally understood to be a Prince of a tender and mer-
 “ciful Nature, which would not take delight in the execut-
 “ing so much Cruelty; and therefore he conceiv’d it might
 “be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise,
 “that when it should please God to Restore his Majesty to
 “his Government, he would never suffer those Laws to be
 “executed, but would cause them to be repealed; which ge-
 “nerous and pious Resolution made known to the Pope,
 “would work very much upon him, and dispose him to make
 “an answerable return to his Majesty. The King answer’d,
 “that his Highness might very safely undertake on his be-
 “half, that if it should be in his Power, it should never be in
 “his Will, to execute those severe Laws: but that it was not
 “in his Power absolutely to repeal them; and it would be
 “less in his Power to do it, if he declared that he had a pur-
 “pose to do it: therefore, That must be left to time; and it
 “might reasonably be presum’d, that he would not be back-
 “ward to do all of that kind which he should find himself
 “able to do; and the Declaration which he then made, his
 “Majesty said, that he would be ready to make to the Person
 “the Duke meant to send, if he came to him: which was ac-
 “knowledge’d to be as much as could be desired.

GERMANY is the part of the World, where the Jesuits
 are look’d upon to have the Ascendent over all other Men
 in the deepest mysteries of State and Policy, inasmuch as there is
 not a Prince’s Court of the Roman Catholick Religion, where-
 in a Man is held to be a good Courtier, or to have a desire to be
 thought a Wise Man, who hath not a Jesuit to his Confessor;
 which may be one of the reasons, that the Policy of that Na-
 tion is so different from, and so much undervalued by the
 other Politick Parts of the World. And therefore ’tis the
 less to be wonder’d at that this Duke, who had himself ex-
 traordinary Qualifications, retain’d that reverence for those
 who had taught him when he was young, that he believ’d
 Them to grow, and to be improv’d as fast as He, and so to
 be still abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe
 his Jesuit to be a very Wise Man; and, it may be, knew, that
 He would think so to whom he was sent: and as soon as he
 came to him, he sent him to the King to be instructed and
 inform’d of his Majesty’s pleasure. The Man had a very good
 aspect, and less vanity and presumption than that Society use
 to have, and seem’d desirous to merit from the King by do-
 ing him Service; but had not the same confidence he should
 do it, as his Master had. And when he return’d from Rome,
 he brought nothing with him from the Pope but general good
 wishes for the King’s Restoration, and sharp complaints against
 Cardinal

*The Effect
 of this.*

Cardinal *Maximus* for being deaf to all Overtures of Peace ; and that till then all Attempts to serve his Majesty would be vain and ineffectual : and concerning any Supply of Money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had used the same Adage that his Predecessor had done ; and so that Intrigue was determin'd.

THE rest and quiet that the King propos'd to himself in this necessitated retreat, was disturb'd by the impatience and activity of his Friends in *England* ; who notwithstanding all his Majesty's Commands, and Injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash Insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to His Service, were so pricked and stung by the insolence of their Enemies, and the uneasiness of their own Condition and Fortune, that they could not rest. They sent Expresses every day to *Cologne* for more Commissions and Instructions, and made an Erroneous Judgement of their own strength and power, by concluding that all who hated the present Government, would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the King, " that they had made sufficient provision of Armes and Ammunition, and had so many Persons engaged to appear upon any day that should be assign'd, that they only desired his Majesty would appoint that day ; and that they were so united, that even the discovery before the day, and the clapping up many Persons in Prison, which they expected, should not break the design. The King doubted they would be deceiv'd ; and that, though the Persons who sent those Expresses, were very honest Men, and had serv'd well in the War, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them ; for, as many of his Party were too restless, and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandon'd to despair. The truth is, the unequal Temper of those who wish'd very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the King's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his Majesty, and those he assign'd to that Office, would not trust each other ; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else ; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of Wit, as much as want of Honesty ; and so Men were cast into Prison, and kept there, upon general Jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, prov'd very grievous to the King ; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done,

An insurrection design'd in England by some of the King's Party.

done, because they could not be brought together to confer ; and they who appear'd to be less desperate, were by the others reproach'd with being less Affectionate, and to want Loyalty as much as Courage : so they who were undone upon one and the same Account, were oppress'd, and torn in pieces by one and the same Enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater Animosity between themselves, than against their Common Adversary : nor could the King reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

THOUGH the Messengers who were sent, were address'd only to the King himself, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no Notice was taken or Advertisement sent by the many Spies, who were suborn'd to give Intelligence of any one Express that was sent to *Cologne*, yet they had commonly some Friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferr'd ; and ever return'd worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they propos'd, or seem'd to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised ; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a Man who liked not the most extravagant Undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better : so that his Majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The Messengers, which were sent this Winter to *Cologne* (who, I say still, were honest Men, and sent from those who were such) propos'd to the King, as they had formerly done, " that when they were in Armes, and had provided a place where his Majesty might land safely, he would then be with them, that there might be no dispute upon Command : and in the Spring they sent to him, " that the day " was appointed, the eighteenth of *April*, when the Rising " would be general, and many places seiz'd upon, and some " declare for the King, which were in the hands of the Army : for they still pretended, and did believe, " that a part of the " Army would declare against *Cromwell* at least, though not " for the King : that *Kent* was united to a Man ; *Dover* Castle would be possess'd, and the whole County in Armes " upon that day ; and therefore, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to be in some place, conceal'd, upon the Sea-Coast, " which it was very easy for him to be on that day ; from " whence, upon all being made good that was undertaken, " and full Notice given to his Majesty that it was so, he might " then, and not before, transport himself to that part which " he thought to be in the best posture to receive him, and " might give such other directions to the rest as he found necessary :

*Propositions
to the King
to this purpose
from
England.*

" necessary : and even all these particulars were communicated in confidence by the Messengers to their Friends who were near the King, and who again thought it but reasonable to raise the Spirits of their Friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the King's Affairs were in *England*; and " that his Friends were in so good a posture throughout the " Kingdom, that they feared not that any discovery might be " made to *Cromwell*, being ready to own and justify their " Counsels with their Swords : so that all this quickly became more than whisper'd throughout the Court; and " that the " King was only expected to be nearer *England*, how disguis- " ed soever, that he might quickly put himself into the head " of the Army that would be ready to receive him, whereby " all emulations about Command might be prevented, or im- " mediately taken away; and if his Majesty should now neg- " lect this opportunity, it might easily be concluded, that ei- " ther he was betrayed, or that his Counsels were conducted " by Men of very shallow capacities and understanding.

How weakly and improbably soever these preparations were adjusted, the day was positively appointed, and was so near, at the time when his Majesty had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to send Orders to contradict it: and he foresaw, that if any thing should be attempted without suc- cess, it would be imputed to his not being at a distance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majesty, to remove that re- proach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cause, or retire back to *Cologne*, if there were nothing to do; and all this with so little noise, that his absence should scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the Messenger return'd with the King's approbation of the day, and directi- on, " that as soon as the day should be past, an Express should " be directed to *Flushing* at the Sign of the City of *Rouen* (a known Inn in that Town) " to enquire for an *English* man (whose name was given him) " who should be able to in- form him, whither he should repair to speak with the King;

BEFORE the Messenger's departure, or the King's Resolu- tion was taken, the Earl of *Rochester*, who was always jea- lous that some body would be General before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in Arms, desired the King, " that he would permit him to go " over in disguise, to the end that getting to *London*, which " was very easy, he might, upon advising with the principal " Persons engaged, of whom there was none who had not " been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in " Command, assist them in their enterprise, and make the best " of that force which they could bring together: and if he " found

The King
approves of
the day of
Rising.

“found that they were not in truth competently provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by his Advice, and Authority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all inconsiderate Attempts; and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back again to his Majesty.

The Earl of Rochester obtains leave of the King to go into England in order thereto.

WITH this Errand the Earl left *Cologne*, under pretence of pursuing his business with the *German* Princes, upon the Donative of the Diet; for which he used to make many Journeys; and no body suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into *Flanders*, he was not at all reserv'd; but in the hours of good Fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any Body he did believe would keep him Company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding, *Sr Joseph Wagstaff*, who had serv'd the King in the last War very honestly, and was then watching at the Sea-Coast to take the first opportunity to Transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general Insurrection (which all Letters to all places mention'd as a matter resolv'd on) *Rocheſter* frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a Bark at *Dunkirk*; and without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at *London*: but many of those who should have been in Armes were seized upon, and secured in several Prisons.

Sr Joseph Wagstaff goes with him.

The King goes from Cologne to Zealand.

THE Messenger being dispatch'd, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left *Cologne* very early in the Morning, attended only by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and one Groom to look to their Horses: nor was it known to any Body, but to the Chancellour and the Secretary *Nicholas*, whither the King was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive People, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, *Sr John Mennes*, and *John Nicholas*, eldest Son to the Secretary, were sent into *Zealand*, to stay there till they should receive farther Orders; the former of them being the Person design'd to be at the Sign of the *Roan* in *Flushing*, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the Ciphers, both of them Persons of undoubted fidelity.

THERE was a Gentleman who lived in *Middleburg*, and of one of the best Families and the best Fortune there, who had married an *English* Lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the Daughter of a Gentleman of a very noble Family, who had been long an Officer in *Holland*. The King had made this *Dutch*-man a Baronet; and some who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Majesty might secretly

cretly repose himself in his House, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his Majesty being first assured of this, made his Journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being receiv'd, as he expected, in that House, he gave present notice to *Sr John Manners*, and *Mr Nicholas*, that they might know whither to resort to his Majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first arrival there, he receiv'd intelligence, "that the Messenger who had been dispatched from *Cologne*, "met with cross winds and accidents in his return, which "had been his misfortune likewise in his Journey thither; so "that he came not so soon to *London* as was expected; "whereupon some conceiv'd that the King did not approve "the day, and therefore excus'd themselves from appearing "at the time; others were well content with the excuse having discern'd, with the approach of the day, that they had "Embark'd themselves in a design of more difficulty than was "at first apprehended; and some were actually seized upon, "and imprison'd, by which they were incapable of performing their promise. Though this disappointment confirm'd the King in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general Combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a Post where he might securely rest, to expect what the Earl of *Rocheſter's* presence, of whose being in *London* he was advertis'd, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to Order, was come to *Breda*; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the King.

THEY cannot be a greater Manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there could be so many Designs and Conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many Men, and that such signal and notable Persons could resort to *London*, and remain there, without any such information or discovery; as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being no body intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose Trade it was for great Wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of *Rocheſter* consulted with great freedom in *London* with the King's Friends; and found that the Persons imprisonment were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that Party, not upon any particular discovery of what they design'd or intended to do; and that the same Spirit still possess'd those who were at Liberty. The Design in *Kent* appear'd not reasonable, at least not to begin upon; but he was perswaded (and he was very Credulous) that in the North

The Earl of
Rochester
desires for
the North;
and Wag-
staff into
the West.

North there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a Party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of York; nor had the Army many Troops in those parts. In the West likewise there appear'd to be a strong Combination, in which many Gentlemen were engaged, whose Agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assign'd, and desired no more, than that *Sr Joseph Wagstaff* might be Authoris'd to be in the Head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The Earl of *Rochester* liked the countenance of the North better; and sent *Marmaduke Darcy*, a gallant Gentleman, and Nobly Ally'd in those Parts, to prepare the Party there; and appointed a day and place for the Rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that *Sr Joseph Wagstaff* should go into the West; who upon conference with those of that Country, likewise appointed their Rendezvous upon a first day; to be within two Miles of *Salisbury*. It was an Argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the Judges were to keep their Assizes in that City, and where the Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the County were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the Earl of *Rochester*, who knew where the King was, took care to advertise his Majesty; who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renew'd; and in a short time after they were so improv'd, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secrecy Transport himself into England; for which he did expect a suddain occasion.

The Rising
at Salis-
bury.

Sr Joseph Wagstaff had been formerly Major General of the Foot in the King's Western Army, a Man generally Belov'd; and though he was rather for Execution than Council, a stout Man, who look'd not far before him; yet he had a great Companiableness in his Nature; which exceedingly prevail'd with those, who, in the intermission of Fighting, lov'd to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed, left London, and went to some of his Friends Houses in the Country, near the place; that he might assist the Preparations as much as was possible. Those of *Wiltshire* were not so punctual at their own Rendezvous, as to be present at that near *Salisbury* at the hour; however, *Wagstaff*, and they of *Wiltshire*, appear'd according to expectation. *Parvaddock*, a Gentleman of a fair Fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the Service, *Hugh Grove*, *Jones*, and other Persons of Condition, were there with a Body of near two hundred Horse well Arm'd, which, they presumed would every day be improv'd upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the Western Association, especially after the

same of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit *Salisbury* in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many Friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there encrease their Numbers both in Foot, and Horse; with which the Town then abounded: Nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They enter'd the City about five of the Clock in the Morning: they appointed some Officers, of which they had plenty, to cause all the Stables to be locked up, that all the Horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the Goales, that all there might attend their Benefactors. They kept a good Body of Horse upon the Market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the Judges and the Sheriff, who were yet in their Beds, and to bring them into the Market-place with their several Commissions, not caring to seize upon the Persons of any others.

ALL this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the Town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their Countenance. When the Judges were brought out in their Robes, and humbly produced their Commissions, and the Sheriff likewise, *Wagstaff* resolv'd, after he had caused the King to be proclaim'd, to cause them all three to be hang'd (who were half dead already) having well consider'd, with the Policy which Men in such Actions are naturally possess'd with, how he himself should be us'd if he were under their hands, choosing therefore to be before-hand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this before-hand with his Friends, whereby their scrupulous Consciences might have been confirm'd, many of the Country Gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor *Pemraddock* was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major General durst not persist in it; but was prevail'd with to dismiss the Judges; and, having taken their Commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they ow'd their lives; resolving still to hang the Sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the King; which being otherwise done, they likewise prevailed with him rather to keep the Sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honest Man out of the hands of their Enemies. This seem'd an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the Commands of their General; nor was the ten-

disheartened to so general, but that very many of the Gentlemen were much scandalised at it, both as it was a contradiction to their Commander in Chief; and as it would have been a reasonable Act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their Swords.

THE Noise of this Action was very great both in and out of the Kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness, it was enter'd into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole Kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the Army; which was known to be so great, that it was thought *Cromwell* durst not draw the whole Army to a general Rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a Body brought together as might oblige *Cromwell* to make the Army, or a considerable part of it to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his Authority, which they abhor'd. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remain'd with that Party at *Salisbury* for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their Numbers would have much encreased, and their Friends further West must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the Armies marching against them. *Cromwell* himself was alarmed; he knew well the distemper of the Kingdom, and in his Army, and now when he saw such a Body gather'd together without any noise, that durst in the middle of the Kingdom, enter into one of the chief Cities of it, when his Judges and all the Civil power of that County was in it, and take them Prisoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full Peace, and when no Man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprise could be undertaken without a universal Conspiracy; in which his own Army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanish'd, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had perform'd this exploit, they left the Town with very small encrease or addition to their numbers.

The unfortunate Issue of it.

THE truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first Action; and were in such disorder, and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their Friends out of *Hampshire* (who were, to the number of two or three hundred Horse,

Horse, upon their way, and would have been at *Salisbury* that Night) upon pretence that they were expected in *Dorsetshire*, they left the Town, and took the Sheriff with them, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon: but were so weary of their day's Labour, and their watching the Night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and dispersed again amongst themselves about the Sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that Party carried it in hope of receiving good Offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march Westward. They from *Hampshire*, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving *Salisbury*, would not follow, but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left *Wiltshire*; likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their Journey into *Devonshire*, without meeting any who would joyn with them, Horse and Men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single Troop of Horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an Officer, of no credit in the War, being in those parts by chance, follow'd them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather intreated than compell'd them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those *Wagstaff*, quired their Horses, and found shelter in some honest Men's Houses; where they were conceal'd till opportunity serv'd to Transport them into the parts beyond the Seas, where they arriv'd safely. But Mr *Penruddock*, Mr *Grove*, and most of the rest, were taken Prisoners, upon promise given by the Officer that their Lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no Authority to make good. For *Cromwell* no sooner heard of his cheap Victory, than he sent Judges away with a new commission of Oyer and Terminer, and Order to proceed with the utmost severity against the Offenders. But *Roles*, his Chief Justice, who had so luckily escaped at *Salisbury*, had not recover'd the fright; and would no more look those Men in the Face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employ'd in the service, raising some scruples in point of Law, whether the Men could be legally condemn'd; upon which *Cromwell*, shortly after, turn'd him out of his Office, having found others who executed his Commands. *Penruddock*, and *Grove*, lost their heads at *Exeter*; and others were hanged there; who having recover'd the saintness they were in when they render'd, died with great courage and resolution, professing their Duty and Loyalty to the King: many were sent to *Salisbury*, and tryed and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemn'd, where there were Fathers, and Sons, and Brothers, that the Butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent

Slaves to the *Barbadoes*; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever return'd into their own Country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and enflamed all the Kingdom, was for the present extinguish'd in the West; and *Cromwell* secured without the help of his Army; which he saw, by the Countenance it then shew'd when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolv'd to use no longer delay.

The ill success likewise of the design in the North.

THE Design of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of *Rochester*, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and look'd upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his Journey from *London*, with a Friend or two, into *Yorkshire* at the time appointed; and found such an appearance of Gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserv'd his patience. There had been some mistake in the Notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a Rendezvous, he should be well attended. *Marmaduke Darcy* had spent his time very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having Houles, where he might be well concealed, and the Country generally wish'd well to the King, and to those who concern'd themselves in his Affairs. But he took many exceptions; complain'd, as if they had deceiv'd him; and asked many Questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnish'd reasons against entring upon the design, which were not to be urg'd now when they were to execute, and when indeed they seem'd to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill Success at *Salisbury*; yet he did not think the force which the Gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any Action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: So he resolv'd to stay no longer; the Gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good Will to each other, the Earl returning through by-roads to *London*, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopelessness of Affairs. If he had not been a Man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least way in making his Journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and enter'd into Conferences with any Strangers he met, or joyn'd with.

The Earl of Rochester returns to London; whence he advises the King of the ill success.

WHEN

WHEN he return'd from the North, he lodged at *Aylesbury*; and having been observ'd to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the Town, of which he seem'd to take some Survey, and had asked many questions of a Country Fellow who was there (that ground in truth belonging to his own Wife) the next Justice of Peace had notice of it; who being a Man devoted to the Government, and all that Country very ill affected always to the King, and the News of *Salisbury*, and the Proclamation thereupon, having put all Men upon their Guard, came himself to the Inn where the Earl was; and being inform'd, that there were only two Gentlemen above at Supper (for *St Nicholas Armorer* was likewise with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that Journey) he went into the Stable; and upon view of the Horses found they were the same which had been observ'd in the Ground. The Justice commanded the keeper of the Inn, one *Gilvy*, who, besides that he was a Person notoriously affected to the Government, was likewise an Officer, "that he should not suffer those Horses, nor the Persons to whom they belonged, to go out of the House, till he, the said Justice, came thither in the Morning; when he would examine the Gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came. The Earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the Morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the Master of the House, and no body being present but his Companion, he told him, "he would put his Life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: That he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good Will of many Friends, who might be able to do him good. Then he told him who he was; and as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty *Jacobus's*, and a fair Gold Chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the Man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a Man of a very good Understanding, and might consider the Changes which follow'd after, and in which this Service prov'd of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their Escape: And though he thought fit to be accountable to the Justice for their Horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty Servant in another Stable; who, about Midnight, Conducted them into *London-way*; which put them in Safety. The Inn-keeper was visited in the Morning by the Justice; whom, he carried into the Stable, where the Horses still stood, he having still

kept the Key in his own Pocket, not making any doubt of the Persons whilst he kept their Horses; but the Inn-keeper confessed they were Escaped out of his House in the Night, how or whither he could not imagine. The Justice threaten'd loud; but the Inn-keeper was of that unquestionable Fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his Affection to the Common-wealth, that *Cromwell* more suspected the connivance of the Justice (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the Persons till the Morning) than the Integrity of a Man so well known as the Inn-keeper was. The Earl remain'd in *London* whilst the enquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for *Flanders*; and so return'd to *Cologne*.

The King
leaves *Zee-
land*; and
returns to
Cologne.

AS SOON as the King receiv'd Advertisement of the ill Successes in *England*, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left *Zee-land*, and returning by *Breda*, staid in a *Dorp* near the Town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then return'd with all speed to *Cologne*; where his little Court was quickly gather'd together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His Majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest Gentlemen in *England*, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his Majesty's Judgement: And he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his Friends from thence advertised, "that all his Counsels were discover'd; and that "*Cromwell* had perfect intelligence of whatsoever his Majesty resolv'd to do, and of all he said Himself; so that it would not be safe for any Body to correspond with him, or to meddle in his Affairs or Concernments: That his coming into "*Zee-land*, and his continuance there, was known to *Cromwell*, with all the particulars of his Motion; that many Persons of Condition were seized upon, and imprison'd for having a design to possess themselves of some Towns, and "*Places of strength*; which intelligence could not be given "*but from Cologne*; implying, "that the miscarriage in all "*the last designs*, proceeded wholly from the Treason of "*some Persons near his Majesty*. The King did not at all wonder that *Cromwell*, and his Instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believ'd, that they knew all that was resolv'd or thought of at *Cologne*; but that any Men who were really devoted to his Service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his Majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

WHILST he was in this Agony, and immediately after his return to *Cologne*, a discovery was made of a Villany, that
made

made him excuse his Friends in *England* for their Jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an Imposture of such a Nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one *Manning*, a proper young Gentleman, bred a Roman Catholic in the Family of the Marquis of *Worcester*, whose Page he had been. His Father, of that Religion likewise, had been a Colonel in the King's Army; and was slain at the Battle of *Alverstod*; where this young Man, being then a Youth, was hurt, and maim'd in the left Arm and Shoulder. This Gentleman came to *Cologne* shortly after the King came thither first, and pretended, "that he had sold the incumber'd Fortune his Father had left him; upon which, he had enough to maintain him, and resolv'd to spend it in waiting upon the King, till his Majesty should be able to raise an Army; in which he hoped to have an opportunity to revenge his Father's Blood; with many discourses of that Nature; and he brought a Letter to *Dr. Bevilas* from his Uncle *Manning*, who was well known to him, to commend his Nephew to his conversation. He was a handsome Man, had store of good Cloaths, and plenty of Money; which, with the memory of his Father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the Company that was there. He knew most of the King's Party in *England*, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them; and had every Week the Diurnal, and the News of *London*, which seldom else came so far as *Cologne*. He associated himself most with the good-fellows, and eat in their Company, being well provided for the expence. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the Earl of *Rockefter*, and told him, "that all the King's Party look'd upon him, as the General who must Govern and Command them; for which they were very impatient: That he himself would be ready to run his Fortune, and attend him into *England*; and that he had two hundred good Men list'd, who would appear well Mounted and Armed, whenever he should require them; and that he knew where good Sums of Money lay ready to be applied to that Service. The Earl was ravish'd with this discourse, and look'd upon him as a Man sent from Heaven to advance his designs; and asked him, "whether he had been with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and communicated all this to him? He said "he had, at his first coming to Town, waited upon the Chancellor; and intended to have spoken of this, and much more than he had yet spoken, if he had been vacant, or willing to hear: but he seem'd to him too reserv'd; which he imputed then to some business that possess'd him, and therefore made him a second visit; when he found him with the same wariness, and with-

The discovery of the Treachery of Manning; and a particular account of it.

"out a desire to be inform'd by him concerning the Affairs of that Kingdom; so that he resolv'd to visit him no more."

IN the end, he told the Earl, "that he would impart a secret to him of the last importance, and which he had not yet had opportunity to inform the King of, and, he did believe, it would be the same thing to impart it to his Lordship as to his Majesty himself! The Story was; that he was trusted by the young Earl of Pembroke, whose Affections were entire for his Majesty; to assure the King of the same; and that though it would not be safe for him to appear in the head, and beginning of an Insurrection, he would advance it as much as if he were there in Person; and because he knew the West was better prepared to begin the Work than any other part of the Kingdom, he had caused three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept ready at *Wilsan*, which should be deliver'd to any Man, who, in the King's Name, should require it of such a Man (naming a Person, who was known to be much trusted by that Earl) upon delivery of a private Token he produced out of his Pocket (which was a clean piece of Paper, sealed with three impressions of an Antick Head in hard Wax) "which, he said, "the Earl required him to present to the King when he thought it might be seasonable. He added, "that he would be glad to be himself in that first Engagement, and so to be present when that Token should be deliver'd; yet he consider'd, that he was not enough known to have such a Secret imparted to him, as the time of such an Action ought to be; and therefore, if it pleased the King, he would presently deliver that Token into his Lordship's hands; who, he was confident, would be the first that would have opportunity to employ it.

THE Earl had the Journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a Treasure as this would much advance the Service. He made haste to inform the King of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the Token. To that purpose, he brought the Man to the King; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his Majesty after Dinner, or Supper, as he receiv'd it. He made a large Relation to the King of what the Earl of Pembroke had commanded him to say, and presented the Token to his Majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the King had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. As soon as he left the King, the Earl brought him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of Courtesy to him before, which he wonder'd at; for it was very true that

Manning

Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had receiv'd him with as much Civility as was possible having known his Father, and most of his Family, and was glad to see him frequently at Prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholick; and the young Man had seem'd much pleas'd with the Reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that Relation concerning the Earl of *Pembroke*, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complain'd heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproach'd for not treating a Person of so much Merit, who had lost his Father and had been himself main'd in the King's Service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary Civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and of the humour that then possess'd him, and of the uneasiness of his own Fortune, which did not make him at that time Master of much Money, besides that he believ'd that, if the thing were true, he should have receiv'd advertisement sooner of it from a Person who was most trusted by the Earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the Chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the King, "that he doubted *Manning* had made that part of the story to make himself the more welcome; which his Majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wish'd him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of that story, nor the least apprehension that he was a Spy.

WHEN it was publickly known that the King was absent from *Cologne*, at that time that he made his Journey to *Zee-land*, in the manner that is mention'd before, the Earl of *Rochester* being departed from thence some time before, *M^r Manning* appear'd wonderfully troubled, and complain'd to some, "that he being entrusted by all the King's Friends, who "would not credit any Orders but such as should pass through "his hands, the King was now gone without imparting it to "him; which would be the ruin of his design. He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himself, "that there should be "any Sword drawn in *England* before His; his Father's Blood "boiled within him and kept him from sleep. He desired him therefore, "that he would so far communicate the design "to him, that he might only know to what part of *England* "to Transport himself, that he might be in Action as soon as "might be possible. He could draw nothing from the Chancellor; who told him, "that he knew of no probability of "any Action; and therefore could give no advice. Upon which

which he complain'd much of the Chancellor's want of kindness to him: But he lost no time in following the King; and having great acquaintance with *Herbert Price*, a Man much trusted by the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know the greatest Secrets, he prevail'd with him, upon bearing his Charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at least that they might be ready on the Sea Coast, to Transport themselves into *England* upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had made any mention of *Zee-land* to Mr *Price*, thither they both came; and seeing Sr *John Manners*, and Mr *Nicholas* there, they believ'd there might likewise be other of their *Cologne* Friends. *Herbert Price*, as he was a Man of a very Inquisitive Nature, watch'd so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an Evening, when he used to walk to take a little Air after the days confinement. The King, since he was discover'd, thought it best to trust him; and charged him "not only to make no discovery, but to remove out of the Island, lest his being seen there, might raise suspicion in other Men. He did very importunately desire the King that he might bring *Manning* to speak with him; as not only an honest Man (as no doubt he thought him to be) but a man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present Service. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he see him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Majesty concluded that *Cromwell* came to be inform'd of his being in *Zee-land*; without any reproach to Mr *Price's* Fidelity; which was not suspected, though his presumption, and importunity, were always very inconvenient.

SHORTLY after the King's return to *Cologne*, *Manning* likewise came thither with his accustom'd confidence. And in this time the Chancellor receiv'd Advertisement from *England*, "that he had no kind of trust from the Earl of *Pembroke*, but on the contrary, had been turn'd out of his Service upon matter of dishonesty; and that he was a loose Person of no Reputation: And his Majesty was inform'd by others from *Antwerp*, "that every Post brought many Letters for him, which were taken up there, and transmitted to *Cologne*; and that he had Letters of Credit upon a Merchant of *Antwerp* for good Sums of Money. All this raised a suspicion in the King; who gave direction to a trusty Person, who was purposely sent to take up all those Letters at *Antwerp*, which were sent thither from *England* for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from *Cologne* by him, his address being likewise discover'd. By this means the Party return'd with many great

great Packets both from, and to him; which being open'd, and read, administer'd matter of great amazement. There were Letters from *Thurlow*, *Cromwell's* Secretary and Principal Minister, containing the satisfaction the Protector receiv'd in the particular Intelligence he receiv'd from him, with short Instructions how he should behave himself. The Person employ'd had been so dextrous, that he brought with him *Manning's* Letters of three Posts, all full of the most particular things done at *Cologne*; and the particular words said by the King, and Others, that must needs affect those who should receive the Intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

IN one Letter, after such Information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should send such advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above what he had given from *Zeeland*, and by which they might see, that there was nothing so secret at *Cologne*, of which he could not be inform'd, if he had Money enough; and therefore desired the Bill for the thousand Crowns might be dispatched. Together with this, the Letter of the subsequent Post was likewise seized upon; and by his Method, which was afterwards discover'd, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same Post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was enclosed an Overture or Design for the surprise and taking of *Plymouth*; in which there was a very exact and true description of the Town, and Fort, and Island, and the present Strength and Force that was there. Then a Proposition, that a Vessel with five hundred Men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place (a Creek describ'd) and upon a sign then given, such a place in the Town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the Fort, and the Island. The Names of the Persons who undertook to do both the one, and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all Men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the assistance of that five hundred Men, might indeed be able to Master the place. For the better going through the Work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that *Sr Hugh Pallard*, and other Persons named, who were all notable Men for their Zeal to the King's Service, should be ready from the *Devon-shire* side, as Colonel *Arundel* and others from *Cornwall*, to second and support what was to be done.

THE Letter inform'd, "that when the King deliver'd that Paper to the Council (which, he said, "he had receiv'd from a very good hand; and then the Marquis of *Ormond* made this, and that objection, and others found this, and that difficulty

difficulty in the Execution of the Enterprize; all which the Chancellor answer'd very clearly, and the King himself said very much of the easiness of the Undertaking) "there was "one difficulty urged, that the King himself appear'd to be "startled at, and looked upon the Chancellor ; who arose "from his place, and went to the King's Chair, and whisper'd "somewhat in his Ear. Whereupon his Majesty told the "Lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the Chan- "cellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should "refer the care of it to Him, who would take it upon him, "and so the matter was resolv'd, and the Earl of *Rockester* un- "dertook for the five hundred Men, and their Transportation. *Manning* concluded, "that if he had Money, they should "know constantly how this design should be advanced, or "any other set on foot. Every Body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a Proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his Letter many vain insinuations of his Interest, as if he were never out of the King's Company. Two of the King's Servants were sent to seize upon his Person, and his Papers ; who found him in his Chamber writing, and his Cipher and Papers before him ; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several Letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many Posts to come, with information, and intelligence, of the same nature as the former.

His Secretary of State, and one of the Lords of the Council, were sent to examine him ; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "that the Necessity of his Fortune had ex- "posed him to that base Condition of Life ; and, to make "himself fit for it, he had dissembled his Religion ; for, he "said, he remain'd still a Catholick : That he was sent over by "*Thurloe* to be a Spy wherever the King should be, and had "constantly sent him Intelligence, for which he had receiv'd "good Sums of Money ; yet, that he had been so troubled in "Mind for the villainy of the Life he led, that he was resolv'd, "by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good Sum "of Money from them ; and then to renounce farther cor- "respondence, and to procure the King's Pardon, and faith- "fully to serve him. Being asked, why he made such rela- "tions, which had no truth in them, he answer'd, "that if he "had come to the knowledge of any thing which in truth had "concern'd the King, he would never have discover'd it ; "but he thought it would do no prejudice to the King, if he "got Money from the Rebels by sending them Lies, which "could neither do them good, nor hurt his Majesty ; and "therefore all his care was to amuse them with particulars, "which

“which he knew would please them; and so when he was alone he always prepared Letters containing such things as occur'd to his Invention, to be sent by the succeeding Posts, and that he had never written any thing that was true, but of his Majesty's being in *Zeeiland*; which, he believ'd; could produce no prejudice to him.

Thus the King now discern'd from whence all the Apprehensions of his Friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their Jealousies; for though none of his Counsellors had been discover'd, they who had receiv'd those Letters, might reasonably think that none of them were conceal'd; and might well brag to their Confidants of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the King's Friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of very many Persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their Loyalty. His majesty took care to publish the Transactions of this Man, with the Method of the Intelligence he gave; by which his Friends discern'd with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his Enemies likewise discover'd what current Ware they had receiv'd for their Money: yet they endeavour'd to have it believ'd that he was not a Man sent over by Them, but a Secretary in great Trust about some Person employ'd, whom they had corrupted: in which Men were likewise quickly undeciev'd, and knew that he was a Man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the Wretch soon after, receiv'd the reward due to his Treason.

As the King's hopes were much Eclipsed in *England* by the late unseasonable Attempt, and the loss of so many gallant Persons, as perish'd, or were undone in it; so *Cromwell* advanced his own Credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirm'd with those who were of doubtful Faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devising Plots himself, that the Common-wealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so Vast Forces still in pay. Whereas it now appear'd how Active, and confident the King's Party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an Attempt in the middle of the Kingdom, if they had not had good Assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the Fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The Success and Triumph of a few desperate Persons at *Salisbury*, that had produced such a Consternation throughout the Kingdom, and would have endanger'd the security of the whole West, if there had not happen'd some accidental confusion amongst the Undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet Force sufficient to provide

Cromwell advanced by the Designs of the King's Party

provide for the Safety of the Kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every County, that it might not be endanger'd by every bold Attempt: and the Charge that this necessary Defence would cause, (should in Justice be borne by those who were the Occasion of the Expence.

*His Order
for Decimat-
ing the
King's Par-
ty*

THEREUPON he made by his own Authority, and that of his Council, an Order, " that all those who had ever borne Arms for the Kind, or had declar'd themselves to be of the Royal Party should be decimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that Estate which they had left, to support the Charge which the Common-wealth was put to, by the unquietness of their Temper, and the just Cause of Jealousy which they had administer'd. And that the Publick might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, Commissioners were appointed in every County, to value wharthat tenth part of every such Estate did amount to; and that no Man might have too good a bargain of his own, every Man was obliged to pay as much as those Commissioners judged fit; and till he paid it, besides Imprisonment, which was a judgement apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the Jealousies wrought, his whole Estate was sequester'd. And in this decimation there was no consideration taken of former Compositions, of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great Seal, without enquiry into their Actions, or so much as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any Correspondence with the King or any body trusted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late designs or insurrection.

His Declaration to justify it.

THAT this Order might be submitted to, and executed, He publish'd a Declaration to make the Justice, as well as the Necessity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only set down the grounds of his present proceeding against the Royal Party, but the Rules by which he meant to proceed against any other Party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a Declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had serv'd the King, than had ever been before published. Great Caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been design'd than to unite the whole Nation in the joyn'd defence of the Common Interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all Marks of division and distinction of Parties, and that all Men, of what Condition soever (except those who had been always excepted by Name) who would submit to the Government, should be admitted to have shares, and to act parts in the Administration and Defence of it. But now notice was taken

taken of "such an inherent Malignity, and irreconcilableness
 "in all those who from the beginning had adhered to the King,
 "and opposed the proceedings of the Parliament, towards all
 "those who had serv'd their Country, and vindicated the In-
 "terests of the People and Nation, that they declin'd the com-
 "mon Rules of Civility, and would have no Conversation
 "with them; and, that the same Malignity and Animosity might
 "descend to their Posterity, they would not make Marriages,
 "or any Friendship or Alliance with those who had been se-
 "parated, or divided from them in those Publick Differences;
 "and therefore they were not hereafter to wonder, or com-
 "plain, if they were looked upon as a Common Enemy,
 "which must be kept from being able to do Mischief; since
 "they would always be willing to do all they could; and that
 "they were not to expect to be prosecuted, like other Men,
 "by the ordinary forms of Justice, and to have their Crimes
 "to be prov'd by Witnesses; before they should be concluded
 "to be Guilty. If any desperate Attempts were undertaken
 "by any of that Party to disturb the Publick Peace, that it
 "would be reasonable to conclude that they all wished well
 "to it, though they appear'd not to own it: that all Con-
 "spiracies of that nature were acted in secret; and were deeds
 "of darkness, and Men might justly be suspected and pro-
 "ceeded against as privy to them, by their common discourses,
 "by the Company they usually kept, and by their very looks;
 "with many other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the
 "disquisition of Justice, and legal proceedings, that the King's
 "Party might reasonably conclude, they had nothing left that
 "they could call their own, but must expect a total Extirpation,
 "either by Massacre, or Transplantation.

BUT then the Declaration took notice likewise of "the
 "factions in the Army, that would not acquiesce in the Go-
 "vernment establish'd; but would have another found out,
 "and form'd according to their Levelling humours; all which
 "distractions, to what other ends soever directed, must so
 "weaken the Common-wealth, if not wisely prevented, as it
 "must in the end be expos'd as a Prey to their inveterate
 "Enemies; and therefore, that the same remedies must be
 "apply'd to Them, as to the others; with intimation clear
 "enough, "that the connivance they had formerly receiv'd,
 "and even the Pardons that had been granted for their for-
 "mer Mutinies and Transgressions, were of no more validity
 "than the Articles, Promises, and Acts of Indemnity, which
 "had been granted to the Royal Party: all which were de-
 "clared to be void and null, upon any succeeding Delin-
 "quency: so that all discontented People who liked not the
 "present Government, what part soever they had acted in the
 pulling

pulling down the old, whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those Maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoy'd, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though, for the present, none but the King's Party underwent that insupportable burthen of Decimation; which brought a vast incredible Sum of Money into *Cromwell's* Coffers, the greater part whereof was rais'd (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the King the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his Party because they had not assisted the Rebels with a visible chearfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had propos'd to themselves to sit still as Neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either Party; or such who had shelter'd themselves in some of the King's Garrisons for their own conveniency.

*The King
caus'd an
Answer to be
made to it.*

THIS Declaration was sent to *Colerus*; where the King caus'd an Answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the Parliament side, and who was well pleas'd to see the Cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the Tyranny that was exercis'd over the Kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of Trust the Protector was guilty of, that it oblig'd all the Nation to look upon him as a detestable Enemy, who was to be remov'd by any way that offer'd it self; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next Parliament that he call'd; which was not long after.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K XV.

Ezra iii. 26.

And I will make thy Tongue cleave to the roof of thy Mouth; that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a Reprover; for they are a Rebellious House.

Hos. x. 3.

For now they shall say, We have no King, because We feared not the Lord; what then shall a King do to Us?

Hab. 1. 10.

And they shall scoff at the Kings, and the Princes shall be a scorn unto them.

THE King remain'd at *Cologne* above two years, The King contending with the rigour of his Fortune with stayed at great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the Cologne Princes of *Europe* seem'd to contend amongst above two themselves, who should most eminently forget, years. and neglect him; and whilst *Cromwell* exercised all imaginable Tyranny over those Nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his Majesty's Father's peaceable, and mild Government: so that, if the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppressions his Rebellious Subjects endured in all the three Nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleasure of this kind The Condition of Scotland under Cromwell in all of them: first, in seeing *Scotland*, which first threw off, wantonly, it's own peace and plenty, and infected the other

other two Kingdoms with its Rebellion, now reduced, and govern'd by a rod of Iron; vanquish'd and subdued by those whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had joyn'd, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to destroy their own Natural Prince, and dissolve the Regal Government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a Nation: in seeing the pride and insolence of that People, which had used to practice such ill manners towards their King, suppressed, contemned, and exposed to slavery under the discipline, and castigation of Men who were very few of them born Gentlemen, but bred up in the Trades and Professions of Common Men. These Men govern'd in their Houses, and prescribed new Laws to them to live by, which they had never been accusom'd to, yet were compell'd to obey, upon penalty of their Lives, and Estates; whilst their adored Idol, Presbytery, which had pull'd off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threaten'd their Princes with their rude thunder of Excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by Artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a Corporal; and all this Subjection supported at their own charge, the fierce Governours being paid by them out of their own Estates.

of Ireland. He then beheld *Ireland*, that begun its Rebellion with inhumane Massacres, and Butcheries of their peaceable and innocent Neighbours, after the other of *Scotland* was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of Peace had again cover'd the three Nations, if this sottish People had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody Prologue engaged again the three Kingdoms in a raging and devouring War; so that though *Scotland* blew the first Trumpet, it was *Ireland* that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebell'd, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befel the King, and his Dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy People, when they saw that they could not make War, but were beaten as often as encounter'd, would not yet make Peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of Treachery, and Perjury, that can make any foul Action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, return'd to their obedience to the King, and put themselves again under his Protection, they quickly repented of their Loyalty, offer'd themselves to the Sovereignty of a Forreign Prince; and when they had seen their natural King Murder'd by his other Rebels, for want of that Assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the Usurper, driving from them

them the Governour, and Government of the King: I say, his Majesty saw now this miserable People groveling at the feet of their proud Conquerors, reduced to the lowest desolation, and even to the point of Extirpation; the blood they had wastonly, and savagely spilt in the beginning of the Rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the Kingdom to the other; whilst those Persons who first contriv'd the Rebellion, and could never be reached by the King, and they who caused every Peace to be broken which had been made with his Majesty, with all the possible affronts to his Royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavour'd, by all the treacherous Offices against the Royal Power, to reconcile themselves to their new Masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by Their authority who usurped the Government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of Foreign Princes, under whom they perish'd for want of Bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in History of any Nation, the Jews only excepted; that was ever reduced to a more complete misery than the *Irish* were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

LASTLY *England*, that seem'd to glory in the Conquest of Eng-
of those two Kingdoms, and to Reign peaceably over them, land.
yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broken with the daily informations he receiv'd of the ruin and destruction his faithful and Loyal Party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny the Usurper exercised over the whole Nation, was grievous to him; yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first Authors of the publick Calamity, now so much sharers in it that they were no more Masters of their Estates, than They were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those Scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new Government was in their hands which had pull'd down the old; and that, after Monarchy had been made so odious to the People, the whole Wealth of the Nation was become at the disposal of a single Person; and that those Lords, without whose monstrous assistance the Scepter could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King, were now number'd and marshall'd with the dregs of the People: in a word, that *Cromwell* was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contriv'd, and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the Kingdom, who had been the prin-

capital means to suppress the Royal Authority, and to drive the Royal Family; and all that adher'd to it, into banishment.

THIS prospect the King had of the three Kingdoms during his residence at *Cologne*; but with those manifestations of God's Vengeance upon those ingrateful Nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompence, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

CROMWELL, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his Name into Foreign Countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of the People at home more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his refractory Parliament, sent two very great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Pen*, consisting of about thirty Ships of War, with which there was likewise Embarked a Land Army, consisting of four or five thousand Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under the Command of General *Venables*, a Gentleman of a good Family in *Cheshire*; who had served long in the Army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then call'd out of *Ireland* to command in this Expedition.

Cromwell
the beginning
of 1655 sent
two great
Fleets to
Sea; the one
under Pen,
with a Land
Army under
Venables:

BOTH these Superior Officers were well affected to the King's Service, and were not fond of the Enterprize they were to Conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other (which they had not confidence to engage in) send to the King, that if he were ready with any Force from abroad, or secure of possessing any Port within, they would, that is either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their Charge, to declare for his Majesty. If this had been upon a joyn't, and mutual confidence in each other, and that both Fleet, and Land Forces, though the Body of Horse was small, would at the same time have set up the King's Standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any Port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct Overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable Attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to Embark his Friends in. So he wished them to reserve their Affections for his Majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the Voyage to which they were design'd; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident *Cromwell* meant to make some Enemy, which probably might give his Majesty some Friend.

THE

THE other Fleet was not inferior in Naval strength, and power, but was without a Land Army; and that was committed to the Command of *Blake*; in whom *Cromwell* had all confidence. Neither Fleet knew what the other, or what it self was to do, till each of them came to such a Point; where they were to open their Commissions; and *Cromwell* had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many Months after they were both at Sea, no Body knew to what they were design'd. Though the intercourse between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal was maintain'd with many Civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a Treaty sign'd; here resolving, as he profess'd, "to give his Friendship" to that Crown that should best deserve it: and, without doubt, both Crowns were amus'd with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

SPAIN, that had hitherto kept *Don Alonso de Cardenas* in *England*, after he had so many years resid'd there as Embassadour to the late King, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to *Cromwell*, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the Marquis of *Leyda* with a splendid Train, as extraordinary Embassadour, to congratulate all his Successes, and to offer him the entire Friendship of the Catholick King. The Marquis, who was a wise and a jealous Man, found by his reception, and *Cromwell's* reservation in all his Audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his Master; and so after a Month spent there, he return'd to look to his Government in *Flanders*, with an expectation that as soon as any News came of the Fleets, they should hear of some Acts of Hostility upon the Subjects of *Spain*; and did all he could to awaken all the Ministers of that King to the same apprehension, and expectation.

THE two Fleets set out from the Coast of *England*; that under *Blake*, some Months before the other; and made it's course directly to the *Mediterranean*; being bound in the first place to suppress the Insolence of those of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, who had infested the *English* Merchants, and were grown powerful in those Seas. When he should have perform'd that Service, he was to open another Commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer: the other Fleet under *Pen* was bound directly to the *Barbadoes*; where they were to open their Commissions, and to deliver Letters to that Governour. There they found, that they were to take in new Men for the Land Army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the Island of *Hispaniola*. The Governour had Orders to supply new Men for the Expedition; and there

were Ships ready for their Transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the Planters of those *Leeward* Islands, which were overstock'd with Inhabitants, to seek their Fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the *Barbadoes* than they had reason to expect, having now found there two Frigats (which *Cromwell* had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several Shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters) and making prize of about forty *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their new Allies of *Holland*, for Trading thither (contrary to the Act of Navigation) about the end of *March* they set Sail, with an addition of four or five thousand Foot for the Land Army, towards *St Christophers*; where, after a short stay, they receiv'd about fifteen hundred Men more: so that *Venables* had now under his Command a Body of above nine thousand Men, with one Troop of Horse more, which the Planters of the *Barbadoes* joyn'd to him; and having a prosperous Wind, they came, about the middle of *April*, within view of *Santo Domingo*; which is the chief City and Port of the Island of *Hispaniola*.

Thence to
Hispaniola:

Their Orders.

THEIR Orders from *Cromwell* were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgement of it, they called a Council of War; and it was there resolv'd that General *Venables* should land in another place (which they conceiv'd to be much nearer the Town than in truth it was) and from thence march directly to it, there being another Brigade of Foot to be landed, at a less distance from the Town, in a Bay, that should joyn with them; and joyn they did. But by the march which *Venables* had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the Woods and uneasy Passages, and in the terrible heat of that Country's Sun, where they found no Water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joyn'd with their Companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that follow'd. The loss of that time in their Advance had another very ill effect. For the Inhabitants of the Town, that, at the first appearance of such a Fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a Consternation, that they despair'd of making any resistance, when they saw their Enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a March as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recover'd their Spirits, and prepared for their Defence. So that when *Venables*, upon the conjunction with his other Forces, and after having found some fresh Water to refresh his Men, advanced towards the Town,

Town, his Forlorne Hope found themselves charged by a Party of Horse arm'd with long Lances, and other Armes, which they had not been accusom'd to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the Charge very ill, and were easily Routed, and Routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main Body; upon fight whereof the *Spaniards* retired without any loss, having left the Captain of the Forlorne Hope, and above fifty of his Company, dead upon the place. The *English* retired back in great discomfort to the Bay, and the fresh Water River they had found there; where they stay'd so long, that the General thought his Men not only enough refresh'd, but enough confirm'd in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got Guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the City, and that they should not go near a Fort; which the *Spaniards* had in a Wood, from whence they had been infected. The Common opinion that the *Negroes*, Natives of those parts, are such Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the *English* to give credit to those Guides. But they did conduct them directly to the Fort; near which an Ambuscade in the Woods discharged a Volley again upon the Forlorne Hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury, that disorder'd the whole Army; which, though it recover'd the Courage once more to make an Attempt upon that Fort, was again seized upon by a panick fear, which made them directly fly back to the Bay with the loss of above six hundred Men, whereof their Major General was one.

THIS Fright they never recover'd; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the Climate, and the *Negroes* killing their Men every day, as they went into the Woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of *May*, compell'd to reembark themselves on board the Fleet, with a thousand Men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their Lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a Neighbour Island, called *Jamaica*; where they made another descent, took their City, and drove all the Inhabitants into the Woods. And here they left a good Body of Foot consisting of three or four thousand Men, under the Command of a Colonel, to fortify and plant in this Island, a place fruitful in it self, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the *Spaniards*; who receiv'd exceeding damage from thence; they who were so easily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great Body upon the other Island, making afterwards frequent Incursions,

*He reim-
barks, and
makes a de-
scent upon
Jamaica;
where he
succeeds.*

That Fleet
returns into
England.

The Fleet under
Blake had better
success: forces Al-
giers to a
Peace; en-
ders the Har-
bour of Tu-
nis, and
burns their
Fleet.

with small Numbers, into it from *Jamaica*; Sacking their Towns, and returning with very rich Booty. When *Venables* had put this Island into as good order as he could, he return'd with *Pew* into *England*.

THE other Fleet under the Command of *Blake* had better Success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of *Algiers*, where he Anchored in their very Mole, to submit to such Conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he Sailed to *Tunis*; which he found better fortify'd and more resoly'd; for that King return'd a very rude Answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his Menaces, and refusing to return either Ship or Prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon *Blake* put his Fleet in order, and thunder'd with his great Guns upon the Town; whilst he sent out several long Boats Mann'd with stout Mariners, who, at the same time, enter'd with very notable resolution into their Harbours, and set fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the *English*, and about eight and forty hurt, all the Boats, with the rest of the Men, returning safe to the Ships. This was indeed an Action of the highest Conduct and Courage, and made the name of the *English* very terrible and formidable in those Seas.

THE Success of both Fleets came to *Cromwell's* notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He was never so discomposed (for he had usually a great command over his Passions) as upon the miscarriage at *Hispaniola*. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both *Pew* and *Venables* to the Tower, and could never be perswaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that Affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant Plantation in *Jamaica*; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wist'd the Men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good Squadron of Ships, and a Recruit of fifteen hundred Men to carry on that work; and resolv'd nothing more, than to make a continual War from that place upon the *Spaniard*.

Sends re-
cruits to
Jamaica.

Lockhart
sent by him
Embassador
into France,
with finances
an Alliance
there, begun
before by the
Agents of
France in
England.

AND now the rupture with *Spain* could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent Orders to *Blake*, "that he should watch the return of the Platé-Fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the Coast of *Spain*"; and gave directions to his Ships in the *Downs* to infest those of *Flanders*, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between Him and the Cardinal, was now expos'd to the light. He now sent *Lockhart* his Embassador into *France*; who was receiv'd with great solemnity; and was a Man of great address in Treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the

the Cardinal. He finish'd there the Alliance with *France*. *Cromwell* undertook "to send over an Army of six thousand Foot, to be commanded by their own Superior Officer, "who was to receive Orders only from Marshal *Turenne*; and when *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* should be taken, they were to be put into *Cromwell's* hands. There were other more secret Articles, which will be mention'd.

FLANDERS had notice of this their new Enemy from *England*, before they heard any thing from *Spain*, that might better enable them to contend with him; and *Don Alonso* remain'd still in *London* without notice of what was done, till the Affair of *Jamaica* was upon the Exchange, and Fraternities enter'd into there for the better carrying on that Plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till *Cromwell* sent to him to leave the Kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into *Flanders* to encrease the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The Prince of *Condé*, whose Troops, and vigour, were the preservation and life of that Country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and slegm of the Arch-Duke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the *Conte* of *Fuensaldagna*; who he thought omitted many Opportunities.

Don Alonso sent to leave Cromwell to leave England.

THE Arch-Duke was weary of the Title of Governour of the Low Countries and General of the Army, when the Power was in truth in *Fuensaldagna*, and nothing to be done without His approbation; and having by frequent complaints to *Madrid*, endeavour'd in vain to vindicate his Authority, had implor'd his dismissal, and *Fuensaldagna* himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of *Madrid*, thought the defence of *Flanders* consisted most in preserving the Army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent Enterprises and restless Spirit of the Prince of *Condé*; which spent their Men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the Arch-Duke, was not recompenced by any benefit from his Service, besides the irreconcilableness with the Arch-Duke, by his having compelled him, by the Authority of the King, to dismiss the Count of *Swassenburgh*; whom he lov'd of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his Post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from *Madrid*.

THE Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Arch-Duke and the *Condé*; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in *Germany*, and to bring *Don Juan* of *Austria*, the natural

Don Juan of Austria made Governor of Flanders: and Carracena appointed to command the Army under him.

natural Son of the King of *Spain*, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in *Italy*, to undertake the Government of *Flanders*, with such restrictions as the King of *Spain* thought fit; and at the same time, that the *Conde of Fuenfaldagna* should immediately enter upon the Government of *Milan*; which had been exercised for the last six years by the Marquis of *Carracena*; who was now to govern the Army in *Flanders* under *Don Juan*; and that the Marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of Authority, as could not but breed ill blood in *Don Juan*; as it fell out afterwards. This Counsel was taken; and to be executed in this conjuncture, when *France* and *Cromwell* were ready to enter *Flanders* with two powerful Armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no Command.

The King had sent to the Arch-Duke to offer his conjunction before the Arch-Duke left Flanders.

THE King was yet at *Cologne*; and no sooner heard of the War that *Cromwell* had begun upon *Spain*, but he concluded that the *Spaniard* would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending *Cromwell*. He therefore sent privately to the Arch-Duke, and to *Fuenfaldagna*, to offer them his Conjunction. *Don Alonso* was likewise there; and the long Experience he had in *England*, and the Quality he still held, made his judgement in those Affairs most esteem'd by them. He, whether upon the Conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobligh'd both the late and the present King, or whether, by having liv'd long in a place where the King's interest was condemn'd, he did in truth believe that his Majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majesty would draw off the *Irish* from the Service of *France*; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some Regiments from *Spain*, whilst he remain'd in *France*. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any Body the King should Authorize to Treat with them; which when the King knew, he resolv'd to go to them Himself; and left *Cologne*, attended only by two or three Servants; and when he came near *Brussels*, sent to advertise the Arch-Duke at what distance he was; and "that he would see him *incognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit.

The King came into Flanders, and treated with the Arch-Duke near Brussels.

THEY either were, or seem'd to be much troubled that the King was come in Person; and desired, that he would by no means come to *Brussels*; but that he would remain in a little vile Dorp about a League from *Brussels*; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the *Conde of Fuenfaldagna*

degu and *Don Alonso* came to his Majesty; and the Arch-Duke met him privately at another place. The King quickly discover'd that *Don Alonso* had a private Intrigue with some Officers of the *English* Army, who were Enemies to *Cromwell*, upon whose Interest he more depended than the King's, and offer'd it as great merit to his Majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correspondence between *Don Alonso* and those Levellers, was managed by an *Irish* Jesuit, who, by speaking *Spanish*, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King press'd them "that he might remove his Family to *Brussels*, or to some place in *Flanders*, that it might be notorious that he was in Alliance with his Catholick Majesty; "and then they should quickly see he had another kind of Interest in *England*, than what those Men pretended to, upon "whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly "find, if his Majesty resided in that Country, his influence "upon the *Irish* who were in *France*.

THEY would by no means consent that his Majesty should remain in *Brussels*, as little at *Antwerp*, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the State to be there; "which, they said, "the King of *Spain's* honour would not permit, "without shewing those respects to him that he might live in "that Grandeur as became a Great King; which the present "state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the "charge of. But they intimated, "that if his Majesty would "choose to remove his Family to *Bruges*, and remain there "with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any publick "expensive Reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the Inhabitants of that City. The King desired that some Treaty might be sign'd between them; which was committed to the wisdom of *Don Alonso*; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in *Bruges*, and nothing on the King of *Spain's* part undertaken but "that whenever the King "could cause a good Port Town in *England* to declare for "him, his Catholick Majesty would assist him with a Body "of six thousand Foot, and with such a proportion of Ammunition, and so many Ships to transport that Body thither; which was the Proposition the Levellers had made; and *Don Alonso*, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an Intelligence between them and the Royal Party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

THE King discern'd that what they offer'd would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident Propositions of advantage to *Spain*, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in

in those Provinces, which remain'd under *Spain*, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a Treaty between Him and the King of *Spain*; under which he might draw his Family from *Cologne*, and remain in *Flanders*, which was at a just distance from *England*, to expect other Alterations. So his Majesty readily accepted the Treaty as it was drawn by *Don Alonso*; and sign'd it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they propos'd at *Bruges*. Whereupon, after seven or eight days stay in that inconvenient manner, the Treaty was engross'd and signed by the King, the Arch-Duke, and *Don Alonso*, in *April*, or the end of *March* 1657; the dispatch of the Treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the Arch-Duke, and the *Cards of Fuenfaldagne*; who begun their Journey within two or three days after the signing of it: *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena* being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days Journey of *Flanders*.

The Treaty
sign'd April
1657: be-
tween Spain
and the
King.

The King re-
moves his
Family from
Cologne,
and comes
to reside at
Bruges.

THE Treaty, as it was sign'd, was sent by an Express into *Spain*, for the approbation and signature of his Catholick Majesty. The King with his small Train went to *Bruges*, and Lodged in the House of a Subject of his own, the Lord *Tarab*, an *Irish*-man; who had been born in that Country, and inherited an Estate by his Mother. There the King stay'd, till a handsome Accommodation was provided for him in that City, having sent to his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, who remain'd yet at *Cologne*, to come to him, and that his Family should all come from thence. So that by the time his Majesty had return'd again to *Brussels*, to congratulate *Don Juan's* arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at *Bruges* as he had been at *Cologne*; where, when his Family left it, there was not the least debt remain'd unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his Oeconomy.

As upon the Dissolution of the unruly Parliament, *Cromwell* had sent out his two great Fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that by the Conquest which the one would make in the West *Indies*, he should have Money enough to keep his Army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, which were indeed grown formidable to all Merchants, he should raise his reputation in *Christendom*, and become very popular with all the Merchants of *England*; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's Party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power

power to raise an Army against him; yet he discern'd, that by breaking their Fortunes and Estates, he had not at all broken their Spirits; and that by taking so many of their Lives, their numbers were not much lessen'd; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any Party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclin'd.

BUT that which troubled him most, was the distemper in his Army; where he knew there were many Troops more at the disposal of that Party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a Regiment of *Swiss*, upon pretence of sending them into *Ireland*, but in truth with intention to keep them as a Guard to his own Person; and to that purpose he had sent a Person to treat with Colonel *Balthazar*, a Man, well known in the Protestant *Cantons*; but this came to be discover'd: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolv'd therefore upon an Expedient, which should provide for all inconveniencies, as well amongst the People, as in the Army. He constituted, out of the Persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a Body of Major Generals; that is, he assign'd to such a single Person so many Counties, to be under his Command as their Major General: so that all *England* was put under the absolute power of twelve Men, neither of them having any power in the Jurisdiction of another, but every Man, in those Counties which were committed to his Charge, had all that authority which was before divided among Committee-Men, Justices of Peace, and several other Officers.

THE Major General committed to Prison what Persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to Levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Publick; sequester'd all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himself. They had likewise a Martial Power, which was to lift a Body of Horse and Foot, who were to have such a Salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own Charge; and if they stay'd longer, they were to be under the same pay with the Army, but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major General. A Horse-man had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his Horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own Affairs. By this means he had a second Army in view, powerful enough to controule the first, if they at any time deserv'd to be suspected. But he discern'd, by degrees, that these new Magistrates grew too much

much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many *Bassas's* with their Bands of *Famizaries*, towards the People, and were extremely odious to all Parties; they did really affect such an Authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present, he thought not fit to controule them, and seem'd less to apprehend them.

WHEN Admiral *Blake* had subdued the *Turks* of *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, and betaken himself to the Coast of *Spain*, and by the attempt of *Hispaniola* and the Possession of *Jamaica*, the War was sufficiently declar'd against the Catholick King, *Mountague*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been drawn into the Party of *Cromwell*, and serv'd under him as a Colonel in his Army with much Courage, was sent with an addition of Ships to joyn with *Blake*, and joyn'd in Commission of Admiral and General with him, *Blake* having found himself much indisposed in his Health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the Fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his Arrival with the Fleet, they lay long before *Cales* in expectation of the *Spanish* West India Fleet, and to keep in all Ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some Months Attendance, they were at last compell'd to remove their Station, that they might get fresh Water, and some other Provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient Bay in *Portugal*, and left a Squadron of Ships to watch the *Spanish* Fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the *English* Fleet, came upon the Coast; and before they were discover'd by the Commander of the Squadron, who was to the Leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them (though he was inferior to them in number) they rather thought of saving their Wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the *Spanish* Admiral run on shore in the Bay; and the Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of *Mexico* with his Wife, and Sons, and Daughters; fir'd; in which the poor Gentleman himself, his Wife, and his Eldest Daughter, perish'd: His other Daughters, and his two Sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the *English*; who took the Rere-Admiral, and another Ship, very richly laden; which, together with the Prisoners, were sent into *England*, the rest escaped into *Gibraltar*.

THE Ships which were sent for *England*, arriv'd at *Portsmouth*; and though they might with less charge have continued their Voyage by Sea to *London*, *Cromwell* thought it would make more noise, if all the Bullion, which was of great value, was landed at *Portsmouth*; from whence it was brought by Land in many Carts to *London*, and carried through the City to the Tower to be there Coin'd, as it was, within a short

Mountague sent to joyn with Blake; and put in Commission with him.

An English Squadron lies upon the Spanish west India Fleet; takes the Rere-Admiral and another Ship off of Cales.

The Bullion taken conveyed from Portsmouth to London.

short a time as it could be dispatch'd; and though it was in it self very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the *Spaniard* was prodigious; though most of what was in the Admiral was saved, and that only: And they saw the *English* Fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other Fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all Advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

CROMWELL now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress, or compose those refractory Spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such Sheriffs in all Counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such Men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such Persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all Counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his Writs to call a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*: upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the Returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many Members were return'd, who were Men of the most notorious Malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of Persons from entering into the House, who did not first subscribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the Government as it was establish'd under a Protector; which being tender'd, many Members utterly refused, and return'd into their Countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their Privileges, and Freedom of Parliament.

Cromwell summons a Parliament to meet Sept. 17. 1656.

Imposes a Subscription upon the Members before they sit.

THE major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a Speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the Protector began to hope that he had gain'd his point. With very little, or no contradiction, they pass'd an Act of Renunciation of any Title that *Charles Stuart* (for so they had long called the King) or any of that Family might pretend; and this all Men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they pass'd another, whereby it was made High Treason to attempt any thing against the life of the Protector. Then they pass'd several Acts for raising Money by way of contribution in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been rais'd. They granted Tonnage and Poundage to the Protector

The Proceed-ings of the Parliament.

teetor for his Life; and passed several other Acts for the raising of Monies; amongst them, one for obliging all Persons to pay a full years Rent for all Buildings which had been erected in, and about *London*, from before the beginning of the Troubles; by all which ways, vast Sums of Money were to be, and afterwards were, raised. All these Acts they presented solemnly to his Highness, to be confirm'd by his Royal Authority; and He as graciously confirm'd them all; and told them, "that as it had been the custom of the Chief Governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commanders upon such Occasions, so he did very heartily and "thankfully acknowledge Theirs.

*Cromwell's
jealousy of
Lambert.*

BUT after all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his Personal Authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for ought appear'd, remove him from being both Protector, and General. There had been for some time jealousies between Him and *Lambert*, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those Major Generals; and being one of them himself, and having the Government of the five Northern Counties committed to him, he desired to improve their Authority, and to have it settled by Authority of Parliament. But *Cromwell*, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be look'd upon as a publick grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in *Lambert*, nor the other in *Cromwell*, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

THE Protector himself seem'd to desire nothing more than to have the Authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was Protector; confirm'd, and ratified by Act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoy'd. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity the Nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the Government "would be better, if it passed another consultation besides "that of the House of Commons. In matter of Religion, he would often speak, "that there was much of good in the order of Bishops, if the dross were scour'd off. He courted very much many of the Nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which, raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be King; which was the more confirm'd, when many of those who had nearest Relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the Parliament had dispatch'd those Acts, which are mention'd before, and that complaints came from all parts against

against the Major Generals, inveigh'd sharply against the temper and composition of the Government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several Interests of the Nation; and by degrees propos'd, in direct terms, "that they might invest *Cromwell* with the Title, Rights, and Dignity of a King; and then he would know, what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all Parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied.

A Proposition in the Parliament for Cromwell to be King.

THIS Proposition found a great concurrence; and very many who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in This, and would presently vote him King. And it was observ'd that no body was forwarder in that Acclamation, than some Men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wish his Restoration; and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's Party were so deceiv'd in their judgements, as really to believe, that the making *Cromwell* King for the present, was the best Expedient for the Restoration of his Majesty; and that the Army, and the whole Nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false Sovereign, whose Hypocrisy and Tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detected.

BUT the more sober Persons of the King's Party, who made less noise, trembled at this Overture; and believ'd that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the Royal Family by the Roots. They saw all Men even already shak'd in their hopes; and that which was left of Spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present Government; that very many, who had sustain'd the King's Quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present King, by his long absence out of the Kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that Affection that appear'd under the notion of Allegiance to the King, was more directed to the Monarchy than to the Person; and that if *Cromwell* were once made King, and so the Government run again in the old Channel, though those who were in love with a Republick would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the Access of those who prefer'd the Monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most Men of Estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the Nobility, which being excluded to a Man, and depriv'd of all the Rights and Privileges due to them by their Birth-right, and so Enemies irreconcilable to the present Government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the Name of a King, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an Act of

Parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King *Henry* the seventh, which seem'd to provide absolute Indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the Nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their Lawful Sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such Vote in the House.

*Lambert
and his Party
oppose this
Overture.*

ON the other side, *Lambert*, who was the second Man of power in the Army, and many other Officers of account and interest, besides the Country Members, oppos'd this Overture with great bitterness, and indignation: some of them said directly, "that if, contrary to their Oaths and Engagements, and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last return and submit to the old Government, and live again under a King, they would choose much rather to obey the true and lawful Heir to the Crown, who was descended from a long succession of Kings who had managed the Scepter over the Nation, than to submit to a Person who at best was but their equal, and rais'd by themselves from the same degree of which they all were, and by the trust they had reposed in him, had rais'd himself above them. That which put an end to the present Debate was (and which was as wonderful as any thing) that some of his own Family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as *Desborough*, *Electwood*, *Whaley*, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other Officers; and confidently undertook to know, "that himself would never consent to it; and therefore that it was very strange that any Men should importune the putting such a Question, before they knew that he would accept it, unless they took this way to destroy him. Upon this (for which the Undertakers receiv'd no thanks) the first Debate was put off, till farther consideration.

*And some of
Cromwell's
own Relations.*

THE Debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same Persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the Officers of the Army, as well as they who were the great Dependents upon, and Creatures of *Cromwell*, as passionately oppos'd the making him King, as *Lambert* and the rest did, who look'd no be successive Protectors after his decease; only it was observ'd, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it (which had especially made the pause at that time) urg'd that Argument no more; but inveigh'd still against it as a Monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his Privy Council, and others

nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him King, and much the Major part of the House concurr'd in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a Committee of several of the most eminent Members of the House to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of the House, "that he would take upon him the Title of King; and if they "should find any aversion in him, that they should then en- "large in giving him those reasons, which had been offer'd "in the House, and which had sway'd the House so that re- "solution, which they hoped would have the same Influence "upon his Highness.

He gave them Audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare Overture to him, as the desire of his Par- liament; at which he seem'd surpris'd; and told them, "he "wonder'd how any such thing came into their minds; that "it was neither fit for Them to offer, nor Him to receive; "that he was sure they could discover no such Ambition in "him, and that his Conscience would not give him leave "ever to consent to own that Title. They, who were well prepared to expect such an Answer, told him, "that they "hoped, he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to "what the Parliament had desired upon so long, and mature "deliberation; that They, who knew his modesty well, and "that he more affected to deserve the highest Titles than to "wear them, were appointed to offer many reasons, which "had induced the House to make this request to him; which "when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same im- "pression would be made upon Him, that had been made upon "Them in the House. He was too desirous to give the Par- liament all the Satisfaction he could with a good Conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively en- tertain'd him with long Harangues, setting out "the nature "of the English People, and the nature of the Government "to which they had been accusom'd, and under which they "had flourish'd from the time they had been a People: that "though the extreme sufferings they had undergone by cor- "rupt Ministers, under negligent, and tyrannical Kings, had "transported them to throw off the Government it self, as "well as to inflict Justice upon the Persons of the Offenders; "yet they found by experience, that no other Government "would so well fit the Nation; as that to which it had been "accusom'd: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his "Highness had taken, and which had been grown'd, even

"with miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of Di-
 "vine Providence upon all his Actions and all his Counsels,
 "there remain'd still a restless and unquiet Spirit in Men,
 "that threaten'd the publick Peace; and that it was most ap-
 "parent, by the daily Combinations and Conspiracies against
 "the present Government, how just and gentle and mild so-
 "ever, that the heart of the Nation was devoted to the old
 "form, with which it was acquainted; and that it was the
 "love of that, not the Affection to the Young Man who pre-
 "tended a title to it, and was known to no body, which dis-
 "posed so many to wish for the return of it: that the Name
 "and Title of a Protector was never known to this Kingdom,
 "but in the hands of a Subject; during the Reign of an in-
 "fant Sovereign; and therefore, that the Laws gave little
 "respect to him, but were always executed in the Name of
 "the King, how young soever, and how unfit soever to go-
 "vern: that whatsoever concern'd the Rights of any Family,
 "or any personal pretence, was well and safely over; the
 "Nation was united, and of one mind in the rejection of the
 "old Line; there was no danger of it; but no body could
 "say, that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old
 "form of Government; to which they were still most ad-
 "dicted: therefore, they besought him, out of his love and
 "tenderness to the Common-wealth, and for the preservation
 "of the Nation, which had got so much renown and glory
 "under his Conduct, that he would take that Name and Ti-
 "tle which had ever presid'd over it; and by which as he
 "could establish a firm Peace at home, so he would find his
 "fame and honour more improv'd abroad; and that those
 "very Princes and Kings, who, out of admiration of his Vir-
 "tue and noble Actions, had contracted a reverence for his
 "Person, and an impatient desire of his friendship, would
 "look upon him with much more veneration, when they saw
 "him cloath'd with the same Majesty, and as much their
 "equal in Title as in merit; and would with much more ala-
 "cidity renew the old Alliances with *England*, when they were
 "renew'd in the old form, and under the old title, which
 "would make them durable; since no Foreign Prince could
 "presume to take upon him to judge of right of Succession;
 "which had been frequently changed in all Kingdoms, not
 "only upon the expiration of a Line, but upon deprivation
 "and deposition; in such manner as was most for the good
 "and benefit of the People; of which there was a fresh In-
 "stance in their own Eyes, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*;
 "where the Duke of *Braganza*, by the Election of the Peo-
 "ple, assumed the Crown, and Title of King, from the King
 "of *Spain*; who had enjoy'd it quietly, and without Inter-
 "ruption,

ruption, during three Descents; and he was acknowledged
 "as Sovereign of that Kingdom by the late King; who re-
 "ceiv'd his Embassadors accordingly.

CROMWELL heard these and the like Arguments with great attention (and wanted not inclination to have concurr'd with them; he thanked them "for the pains they had taken) "to which he would not take upon him to give a present Answer; that he would consider of all they had said to him, "and resort to God for Counsel; and then he would send "for them, and acquaint them with his Resolution; and so they parted, all Men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own Chamber. There is no question the Man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be King, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believ'd, that upon some Addresses he had formerly made to some principal Noble Men of the Kingdom, and some Friendly Expostulations he had by himself, or some Friend, with them, why they reserv'd themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with Him, the Answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was "that if he would make "himself King, they should easily know what they had to do, "but they knew nothing of the submission and obedience "which they were to pay to a Protector; and that these returns first disposed him to that Ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that *Lambert* gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal Enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroy'd by him: Nor did he much consider those other Officers of the Army, who in the House concurr'd with *Lambert*, whose Interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as *Lambert* should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his Brother *Desborough*, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his Greatness, and who did not wish his Power and Authority less absolute than it was. And that these Men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, griev'd him to the heart. He consult'd with them severally, and endeavour'd, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, "that they could do him no good, if they should "adhere to him; and therefore they were resolv'd for their "own Interest to leave him, and do the utmost they could against him, from the time he assumed that Title.

It was reported that an Officer of Name, in the *Exaltation* upon the Subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the Title of King upon him, he would kill him: Certain it is that *Cromwell* was inform'd, and gave credit to it, "that there were a number of Men, who bound themselves by Oath to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept that Title. They who were very near him, said, that in this perplexity he revolv'd his former Dream; or Apparition, that had first inform'd, and promised him this high Fortune to which he was already arriv'd, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the Troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such Exaltation; and that he then observ'd, it had only declared, "that he should be the greatest Man in *England*, "and should be near to be King; which seem'd to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great distraction of Mind, which was manifest in his Countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his Science in dissimulation, his Courage fail'd him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the Committee of Parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely discomposed, and discover'd a Mind full of trouble, and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjoyned, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good Conscience, accept the Government under the Title of a King.

*He refuses
the Title of
King.*

MANY were then of opinion, that his Genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the King's Spirit, and that his Reign was near its expiration; and that if his own Courage had not failed, he would easily have master'd all opposition; that there were many Officers of the Army, who would not have left him, who were for Kingly Government in their own affections; and that the greatest Factions in Religion rather promised themselves Protection from a single Person, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council; that the first Motion for the making him King, was made by one of the most weakly Aldermen of the City of *London*, and who serv'd then for the City in Parliament; which was an Argument that That potent Body stood well affected to that Government, and would have joyn'd with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have liv'd many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present Assassination, and desperate Attempt upon his Person, not from a Revolt of the Army from him; which no particular Man had Interest enough to corrupt. And he might have

have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an Assault; and when such designs are deferr'd, they are commonly discover'd; as appear'd afterwards, in many Conspiracies against his Life.

HIS Interest and Power over the Army was so great, that he had upon the suddain remov'd many of those Officers who had the greatest Names in the Factions of Religion, as *Harriſon*, *Rich*, and others; who, as soon as they were remov'd, and their Regiments conferr'd on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days warning, to have so Quarter'd, and Modell'd his Troops, as to have secured him in any Enterprize he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more Men scandalized at his Usurping more than the Royal Authority, than would have been at his Assumption of the Royal Title too. And therefore they who at that time exercis'd their thoughts with more sagacity, look'd upon that refusal of his as an immediate Act of Almighty God towards the King's Restoration; and many of the soberest Men in the Nation confessed, after the King's Return, that their dejected Spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that insatiation of his.

BUT his Modesty, or his Wisdom, or his Fear in the refusing that supreme Title, seem'd not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally oppos'd it, were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was propos'd towards his Greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, oblig'd him, resolv'd now to give him all the Power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the Title too. And so they Voted, that he should enjoy the Title and Authority he had already; which they enlarg'd in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first Instrument of Government, by another Instrument, which they call'd the Humble *Petition* and *Advice*; in which they granted him not only that Authority for his Life, but power by his last Will and Testament, and in the presence of such a number of Witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own Successor; which power should never be granted to any other Protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this Writing, at the passing whereof *Lambert* chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his Parliament sent to him for an Audience; which he assign'd them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the Banqueting House; where their Speaker *Withington* presented, and read the *Petition* and *Advice*.

The Contents
of it.

and *Advice* of his Parliament, and desired his Assent to it. THE Contents and Substance of it were, "that his Highness *Oliver Cromwell* should, under the Title of Protector, "be pleased to execute the Office of chief Magistrate over *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Territories and Dominions thereunto belonging &c. and to govern according to "all things in that *Petition and Advice*: And also, that he "would in his Life time appoint the Person that should succeed "him in the Government: That he would call a Parliament "consisting of two Houses, once, in a year at farthest: That "those Persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of "the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded "from doing their duties, but by consent of that House where- "of they are Members: That none but those under the Qua- "lifications therein mention'd, should be capable to serve as "Members in Parliament: That the power of the other House "be limited, as therein is prescribed: That the Laws and Sta- "tutes of the Land be observ'd and kept; no Laws alter'd, "suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by new Laws made "by Act of Parliament: That the yearly Sum of a Million of "pounds Sterling be settled for the maintenance of the Navy, "and Army; and three hundred thousand pounds for the sup- "port of the Government; besides other temporary Sup- "plies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities "of the Nation to require: That the number of the Prote- "ctor's Council shall not exceed one and twenty; whereof "seven shall be a *Quorum*: The Chief Officers of State, as "Chancellors, Keepers of the Great Seal &c. to be approved "by Parliament: That his Highness would encourage a God- "ly Ministry in these Nations; and that such as do revile "and disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punish'd "according to Law; and where Laws are defective, new ones "to be made: That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is "contain'd in the Old and New Testament, be asserted, and "held forth for the publick Profession of these Nations, and "no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon, "and recommended to the People of these Nations; and none "to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile, or reproach "the said Confession of Faith.

His Speech
upon passing
it.

WHEN this *Petition and Advice* was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his Eyes, and other Gestures of perplexity, he sign'd it; and told them, "that he came "not thither that day as to a day of Triumph, but with the "most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being "to undertake one of the greatest Burthens that ever was laid "upon the back of any humane Creature; so that, without "the support of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under "the

“the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the Nation committed to his Charge: therefore he desired the help of the Parliament, and the help of all those who fear’d God, that by their help he might receive help and assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but His presence could enable him to discharge so great a Trust. He told them, that this was but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of the three Nations; and therefore he recommended the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the Wisdom of the Parliament; and said, “he could not doubt, but the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing should have induced him to have undertaken this intolerable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he saw, it was the Parliament’s care to answer those ends for which they were engaged; calling God to Witness, “that he would not have undergone it, but that the Parliament had determin’d that it made clearly for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation, and Preservation of such as fear God; and if the Nation were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a Sin on their heads. He concluded with recommending some things to them, “which, he said, would tend to Reformation, by discouraging Vice and encouraging Virtue; and so dismissed them to return to their House.

BUT now that they had perform’d all he could expect from them, he resolv’d that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had pass’d of King-ship, should not pass away in the silence of this Address, but that this Exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a Message to the Parliament, “that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his Inauguration should be perform’d; for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed consider’d it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assign’d the care to several Persons, that all things should be made ready for the Magnificence of such a Work.

ON the day appointed, *Westminster-Hall* was prepared, and adorn’d as sumptuously as it could be for a day of Coronation. A Throne was erected with a Pavillion, and a Chair of State under it, to which *Cromwell* was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his Officers, Military and Civil, with as much State (and the Sword carried before him) as can be imagin’d. When he was sat in his Chair of State, and after a short Speech, which was but the Prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament *Winbington*, that this promotion might

The Solemnity of his Inauguration.

might not seem to be without the Nobility's having any share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitlock*; vested him with a rich Purple Velvet Robe lin'd with Ermines; the Speaker enlarging upon the Majesty and the Integrity of that Robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest Edition, richly Bound; then he, in the name of all the People, girded a Sword about him; and lastly presented him a Scepter of Gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those Emblems of Government and Authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal Coronations, but a Crown and an Arch-Bishop, he took his Oath, administer'd to him by the Speaker, in these words (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory Petition and Advice) "I do, in the Presence, and by the Name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold, and maintain the true Reform'd Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is Contain'd in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and to the utmost of my power, and understanding, encourage the Profession and Professors of the same; and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance and preserving of the Peace and Safety, and just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof; and shall in all things, according to the best of my knowledge and power, govern the People of these three Nations according to Law.

He adjourns his Parliament to January the 20. His Affairs in the vacancy of Parliament.

AFTER this there remain'd nothing but Festivals, and Proclamations of his Power and Authority to be made in the City of *London*, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the Sovereignty they had conferr'd upon him, without any new blasts, and disputes, and might be vacant to the dispatch of his Domestic Affairs, which he had modell'd, and might have time to consider how to fill his other House with Members fit for his purpose, he adjourn'd his Parliament till *January* next, as having done as much as was necessary for one Session. In this vacancy, his greatness seem'd to be so much establish'd both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caus'd all the Officers of his Army, and all Commanders at Sea to subscribe, and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He sent now for his eldest Son *Richard*; who, till this time, had liv'd privately in the Country upon the Fortune his Wife had brought him, in an ordinary Village in *Hampshire*; and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy Counsellor,

Counsellor, and caused him to be chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, few People then believ'd that he intended to name him for his Successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a Successor, as was in all respects equal to the Office: and so Men guessed this, or that Man, as they thought most like to be so esteem'd by him. His second Son *Harry*, who had the Reputation of more Vigour, he had sent into *Ireland*, and made him his Lieutenant of that Kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

HE had only two Daughters unmarried: One of those he gave to the Grand-son and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of a great Estate, and thoroughly engaged in the Cause from the beginning; the Other was Married to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, the owner likewise of a very fair Estate in *Tork-shire*, and descended of a Family eminently Loyal. There were many reasons to believe, that this young Gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of Age, of great Vigour and Ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that Alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These Marriages were celebrated at *White-Hall* with all imaginable Pomp and Lustre; and it was observ'd, that though the Marriages were perform'd in publick View according to the Rites and Ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private Married by Ministers Ordain'd by Bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of *Cromwell*; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity, and folly of his Daughters.

THESE Domestic Triumphs were confirm'd, and improv'd by the Success of his Armes abroad. Though the *French* had no mind to apply those Forces upon *Dunkirk*, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into *Cromwell's* hands, and so march to other places, which they were to Conquer to their own use, in which the six thousand *English* under the Command of *Reynolds* attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his Embassadour *Lockhart* made such lively Instances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of Faith, and some Menaces, "that his Master knew where to find a more punctual Friend; that as soon as they had taken *Montmely*, and *St Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders*; and though the Season of the year was too far spent to engage in a Siege before *Dunkirk*, they sat down before *Mardike*; which was look'd upon as the most difficult part of the Work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that Fort they took, and deliver'd it into the hands of *Reynolds*, with an obligation

"that they would besiege *Dunkirk* the next year, and make it
 "their first Attempt.

The Victory
 of his Fleet
 over the
 Spaniard.

BUT that which made a noise indeed, and Crown'd his
 Successes, was the Victory his Fleet, under the Command of
Blake, had obtain'd over the *Spaniard*; which, in truth, with
 all its Circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be
 forgotten in *Spain*, and the *Canaries*. That Fleet had rode
 out all the Winter Storms before *Cales* and the Coast of *Portu-*
gal, after they had sent home those former Ships which they
 had taken of the West *Indian* Fleet, and understood by the
 Prisoners, that the other Fleet from *Pernu*, which is always
 much richer than that of *Mexico*, was undoubtedly at Sea,
 and would be on the Coast by the beginning of the Spring, if
 they receiv'd not Advertisement of the presence of the *English*
 Fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the *Ca-*
nares. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all
 they had done, or could do to block up *Cales*, one way or
 other they would not be without that Advertisement; and
 therefore resolv'd to sail with the whole Fleet to the length
 of the *Canaries*, that, if it were possible, they might meet
 with the Galeons before they came thither; and if they should
 be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to
 be done.

WITH this Resolution the Fleet stood for the *Canaries*,
 and about the middle of *April* came thither; and found that
 the Galeons were got thither before them, and had placed
 themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller Ships,
 being ten in number, lay in a Semicircle, moor'd along the
 Shore; and the six great Galeons (the Fleet consisting of six-
 teen good Ships) which could not come so near the Shore,
 lay with their broad-sides towards the Offin. Besides this
 good posture in which all the Ships lay, they were cover'd
 with a strong Castle well furnish'd with Guns; and there
 were six or seven small Forts, rais'd in the most advantageous
 places of the Bay, every one of them furnish'd with divers
 good pieces of Cannon; so that they were without the least
 Apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that
 any Men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such
 apparent disadvantage.

WHEN the *English* Fleet came to the mouth of the Bay of
Santa Cruz, and the General saw in what posture the *Spaniard*
 lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the Galeons;
 however, he resolv'd to burn them (which was by many
 thought to be equally impossible) and sent Captain *Steyner*
 with a Squadron of the best Ships to fall upon the Galeons;
 which he did very resolutely; whilst other Frigats entertain'd
 the Forts, and lesser Breast-works, with continual Broad-sides
 to

to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole Fleet, after full four hours fight, they drove the *Spaniards* from their Ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the Ships, which they had taken, but that the Wind that had brought them into the Bay, and enabled them to Conquer the Enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the Cannon from the Shore; which thunder'd upon them. However, they resolv'd to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broad-sides upon the Forts and Land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every Ship, Gallies, and others, and burn'd every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but it happen'd the Wind turn'd, and carried the whole Fleet without loss of one Ship out of the Bay, and put them safe to Sea again.

THE whole Action was so miraculous, that all Men who knew the place, wonder'd that any sober Men, with what Courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the *Spaniards* comforted themselves with the belief, that they were Devils and not Men who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous Men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagin'd, how small loss the *English* sustain'd in this unparallel'd Action; no one Ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred Men, when the Slaughter on board the *Spanish* Ships, and on the Shore, was incredible.

THE Fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service perform'd by *Blake*; who Sickn'd in his Return, and in the very entrance of the Fleet into the Sound of *Plsmouth*, expired. He wanted no Pomp of Funeral when he was dead, *Cromwell* causing him to be brought up by Land to *London* in all the State that could be; and to encourage his Officers to venture their Lives, that they might be Pompously Buried, he was, with all the Solemnity possible, and at the Charge of the Publick, Interr'd in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, among the Monuments of the Kings. He was a Man of private Extraction; yet had enough left him by his Father to give him a good Education; which his own Inclination dispos'd him to receive in the University of *Oxford*; where he took the degree of a Master of Arts; and was enough versed in Books for a Man who intended not to be of any Profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and

Blake returns with the Fleet; dies in the way.

His Burial, and Character.

and having then no appearance of Ambition to be a greater Man than he was. He was of a melancholick and a sullen Nature, and spent his time most with Good-fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the Licence of the time, and the power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, discover'd that he had an Anti-Monarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the Government in any danger. When the Troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the King; and having some Command in *Bristol*, when it was first taken by Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Hertford*, being trusted with the Command of a little Fort upon the Line, he refused to give it up, after the Governour had sign'd the Articles of Surrender, and kept it some hours after the Prince was in the Town, and kill'd some of the Soldiers; for which the Prince resolv'd to haag him, if some Friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in War; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent Service to the Parliament, especially at *Tamworth*, at land, He then betook himself wholly to the Sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first Man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the Science might be attained in less time than was imagin'd; and despised those Rules which had been long in practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great Ability and Circumspection; as if the principal Art requisite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first Man who brought the Ships to concern Castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discover'd by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of Courage into the Sea-men, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolv'd; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the Example of that kind of Naval Courage, and bold and resolute Achievements.

The Parliament comes together Jan. 26.

AFTER all this Lustre and Glory, in which the Protector seem'd to flourish, the season of the year threaten'd some tempest and foul weather. *January* brought the Parliament again together. They did not reassemble with the same temper, and resignation, in which they parted; and it quickly appear'd how unsecure new Institutions of Government are; and when the Contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous Contingencies, they find, that they

they have unwarily left a gap open to let their Destruction in upon them.

CROMWELL thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the Commons, by having call'd the other House; which by the *Petition and Advice* was to be done; and having fill'd it, for the most part, with the Officers of the Army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of *January*, the day appointed to meet (whereas, before, the Parliament used to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the House of Lords; where his new Creations were; then he sent the Gentlemen Usher of the black Rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the Bar of that House, He being placed in his Chair under a Cloath of State, begun his Speech in the old Style, "My Lords, and You, the *Cromwell*
"Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House of Commons: *speaks to them.*
and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for their fair Correspondence the last Session; and assured them, "if they would continue to prosecute his Designs, they should be call'd the blessed of the Lord, and Generations to come should bless them.

BUT as soon as the Commons came to their House, they caused the third Article of the *Petition and Advice* to be read; by which it was provided, that no Members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their Duty, but by consent of that House of which they were Members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their House, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that Recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the most inveterate Enemies the Protector had, came and sat in the House; among whom were *St Harry Vane, Haslerig,* and many other signal Men; who had much the more Credit and Interest in the House, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the Commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become Instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

AS SOON as these Men came into the House, they began to question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House; *Their trans-*
"that it was true, the *Petition and Advice* had admitted there *actions af-*
"should be such an House; but that it should be a House of
"Peers, that they should be called *My Lords*; there was no
"provision; nor did it appear what Jurisdiction it should
"have: that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they should
"suffer those who were created by themselves, and sat only
"by

"by Their Vote, to be better Men than They, and to have
 "a Negative Voice to controule their Masters. When they
 had enough vilified them, they question'd the Protector's Au-
 thority to send Writs to call them thither: "Who gave him
 "that Authority to make Peers? that it had been the proper
 "business of that House to have provided for all this; which
 "it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he
 "had not presumptuously taken that Sovereign power upon
 "him.

Cromwell
 convenes
 both Houses
 and speaks
 to them.

CROMWELL was exceedingly surpris'd, and perplexed
 with this new Spirit; and found that he had been short-sighted
 in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his
 House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: for
 he had taken away those out of that House who were the bold-
 est Speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute
 this other House, without supplying those other places by
 Men who could as well undergo the Work of the other. How-
 ever, he made one effort more; and Conven'd both Houses
 before him; and very Magisterially, and in a Dialect he had
 never used before, reprehended them for presuming to ques-
 tion his Authority. "The other House, he said, were Lords,
 "and should be Lords; and commanded Them "to enter
 "upon such business, as might be for the benefit, not the di-
 "traction of the Common-wealth; which he would wish
 "God's Help prevent. And when he found this Animadversion
 did not reform them, but that they continued in their pre-
 sumption, and every day improv'd their reproaches and con-
 tempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the fourth
 of February; and sending for the Commons, after he had used
 many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that
 "it concern'd his Interest, as much as the Peace and Tran-
 "quillity of the Nation, to dissolve that Parliament; and
 "therefore he did put an end to their sitting. So that Cloud
 was, for the present, dissipated, that threaten'd so great a
 Storm.

He Dissolves
 that Parlia-
 ment Feb. 4.

Raynolds
 cast away
 coming out of
 Flanders.

THE Parliament being dissolv'd, Cromwell found himself at
 ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of Mar-
 dika, Raynolds, who was Commander in chief of that Body
 of the English in the Service of France, endeavouring to give
 his Friends in England a visit, was, together with some other
 Officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drown'd at
 Sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament,
 Lockhart, who was the Protector's Embassadour in France,
 was design'd to take that Charge upon them; and all things,
 which were to be Transported from England, for the pro-
 secution of the business in Flanders the next Spring, were dis-
 patch'd with the more care, and punctuality, that there might be

be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction, and ill humour of the Parliament.

AS SOON as he was rid of That, he thought it as necessary to give some Instances at home, how little he feared those Men who were thought to be so much his Rivals in power, and in the opinion of the Army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with *Lambert*, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his Commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have deliver'd it. So he was deprived of his Regiment, his authority in the Army, and of being Major General in the North, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the Officers *Cromwell* substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and *Lambert* retired to his Garden as-unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire Master of his Army.

Cromwell turns Lambert out of the Army.

HE had observed, throughout the Parliament, that the Major Generals were extremely odious to the People, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his Party were prosecuting to have his Authority confirm'd to him, and that he might have the Title of King conferr'd upon him, *Lambert* was as solicitous to have the Major Generals confirmed by Parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of lifting Men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, *Cromwell* was content to continue their Names, that they might still be formidable in the Countys, but Abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to Himself.

He abridges the power of his Major Generals.

HE took likewise an occasion from an accident that happen'd, to amuse the People with the apprehension of Plots at home to facilitate an Invasion from abroad; and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surpris'd; "that there was a design to seize upon the Tower; and "at the same time that there should be a general Insurrection "in the City of the Cavaliers, and discontented Party, whilst "the City remain'd so secure, that they had put their Militia "into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves in such an "Attempt; but on the contrary, that they were so negligent "in their Discipline, that the Marquis of *Ormond* had lain securely in the City full three Weeks without being discover'd; "who was sent over by the King to countenance a general

He acquaints the L. Mayor &c. of the City with a Plot of the Cavaliers, and the Marquis of Ormond's being in England.

"Insurrection, whilst the King himself, he said, had ten thousand Men ready at *Bruges*, with two and twenty Ships, with which he meant to invade some other more Northern part of the Kingdom. He wish'd them " to lose no time in " putting their Militia into a good posture, and to make very " strict searches to discover what Strangers were harbour'd " within the Walls of the City, and to keep good Watches " every Night. He order'd double Guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary Occasion for all this, he caus'd very many Persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the King's Party, to be surpris'd in the Night in their Beds (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious) and after some short Examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other Prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity us'd in the several Counties; for the better explanation, and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that We return to *Flanders*.

Many Persons seized on upon that Account.

The King's Affairs in Flanders.

WITHIN little more than two Months after the King's coming to *Bruges*, the little Treaty which had been sign'd by the Arch-Duke with the King, was sent ratified from *Madrid* by the King of *Spain*, with many great compliments; which the King was willing should be believ'd to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses of the Lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those Services which are due from, and to a great King, they let his Majesty know, " that the Catholick King had assigned " so many Crowns as amounted to six thousand Guilders, to " be paid every Month towards a Royal Aid; and half so much " more, for the support of the Duke of *Glocester*; that though " the Sum was very small, it was, as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompens'd " by the punctuality of the payment; the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next Month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that Country near three Months, during which time he had not received the least Present, or assistance towards his support.

THEY were willing that the King should raise four Regiments of Foot, which should march with their Army, until the King should find the season ripe to make an Invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the Treaty to give. But for the raising those four Regiments, there was not one penny allow'd; or any other encouragement, than little Quarters to bring their Men to; and, after their Muster, the common allowance of Bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ, and dispose of many Officers

cers and Soldiers, who flock'd to him from the time of his first coming into *Flanders*. He resolv'd to raise one Regiment of Guards, the Command whereof he gave to the Lord *Windsor*, which was to do duty in the Army as common Men, till his Majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his Person. The Marquis of *Ormond* had a Regiment in order to be commanded by his Lieutenant Colonel, that the *Irish* might be tempted to come over. The Earl of *Rochester* would have a Regiment, that such Officers and Soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his Command: and because the *Scots* had many Officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their Country Men to them, the King gave the fourth Regiment to the Lord *Newburgh*, a Nobleman of that Kingdom, of great courage; who had serv'd his Father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four Regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

AS SOON as the Treaty was confirm'd, in truth, from the time that his Majesty came into *Flanders*, and that he resolv'd to make as entire a Conjunction with the *Spaniards* as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of *France*; that he would no longer receive that Pension, which, during the time he had remain'd at *Cologne*, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into *Flanders*, he never would receive any part of it.

THE *Spanish* Army was at this time before *Conde*; a place Garrison'd by the *French* between *Valencienues*, and *Cambrai*; which was invest'd now by *Don Juan*; who finding that the greatest part of the Garrison consisted of *Irish*, and that there was in it a Regiment commanded by *Muskery*, a Nephew of the Marquis of *Ormond*, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the *Irish* had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Majesty at *Brugas*, and desired that he would send the Marquis to the Camp; which his Majesty could not refuse; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to *Brussels* (under pretence of solliciting the payment of the three first Months, which were assign'd to the King) to confer with *Don Alonso de Cardinas* upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the Winter upon *England*; *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carrasena*, referring all things which related to *England* to *Don Juan*, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to *Brussels*, at the same time that the Marquis went to the Camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

The Success
of the Mar-
quis's con-
ference with
Muskery.

CONDE was reduced to freights by the time the Marquis came thither; who was receiv'd with much more civility by *Don Juan*, at least by the Marquis of *Carracena*, than any Man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the Garriſon ſhould be reduced, which was then Capitulating, he would prevail with thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, when they march'd out, to enter into the *Spaniſh* Service, that is, as they call'd it, to ſerve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the Winter into *England*; eſpecially they deſired that his Nephew *Muskery*, who had the reputation of a ſtout and an excellent Officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his Regiment, which was much the beſt, whatever the other would do. After the Capitulation was ſigned, the Marquis eaſily found opportunity to confer with his Nephew, and the other Officers of the ſeveral Regiments. When he had inform'd them of the King's pleaſure, and that the entering into the ſervice of the *Spaniard* was, for the preſent, neceſſary in order to the King's ſervice, the other Regiments made no ſcruple of it; and engaged, aſſoon as they march'd out, to go whither they ſhould be directed.

ONLY *Muskery* expreſſy reſuſed that either himſelf, or any of his Men ſhould leave their Colours, till, according to his Articles, they ſhould march into *France*. He ſaid, "it was not conſiſtent with his honour to do otherwiſe. But he declared, "that aſſoon as he ſhould come into *France*, he would "leave his Regiment in their Quarters; and would himſelf "Ride to the Court, and demand his Paſſ; which, by his "contract with the Cardinal was to be given to him, when- "ever his own King ſhould demand his Service; and his Re- "giment ſhould likewiſe be permitted to march with him. It was urg'd to him, "that it was now in his own power to "diſpoſe of himſelf; which he might lawfully do; but that, "when he was found in *France*, he would no more have it in "his power. He ſaid, "He was bound to aſk his diſmiſſion, "and the Cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had "done His part, he was very confident the Cardinal would "not break his word with him; but if he ſhould, he would "get nothing by it; for he knew his Men would follow him "whitherſoever he went; and therefore deſired his Uncle to "ſatisfy himſelf; and to aſſure the King and *Don Juan*, that "he would, within fix weeks, return; and if he might have "Quarters aſſign'd him, his Regiment ſhould be there within "few days after him. It was in vain to preſs him farther, and the Marquis telling *Don Juan*, that he believ'd he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better eſteem of him than of the other Of-
ficers,

ficers, who came to him, and brought over their Men without any Ceremony.

MUSKERY march'd away with the rest of the Garrison; and as soon as he was in *France*, rode to *Paris*; where the Cardinal then was; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his Capitulation, the Cardinal, by all imaginable Caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavour'd to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to serve the *Spaniard*, and not his own King; who had no employment for him; that if he would stay in their Service till the King had need of him, he would take care to send him, and his Regiment, in a better Condition to his Majesty, than they were now in. When he could neither with promises, nor reproaches, divert him from quitting their Service, he gave him a Pass only for Himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the Regiment; averring, "that he was not bound to it, because there could be no pretence that they could serve the King; who had no use of them, nor wherewithal to pay them.

MUSKERY took what he could get, his own Pass; and made hast to the place where his Regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three Servants to *Brussels*; and desired *Don Juan* to assign him convenient Quarters for his Regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole Regiment, Officers and Soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assign'd them; and brought their Armes with them; which the *Spaniard* was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that Regiment, as of any that was in their Service.

WHEN the Marquis propos'd any thing that concern'd the King, during the time he was in the Army, *Don Juan* still writ to *Don Alonso* to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found *Don Alonso* in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely govern'd by the *Irish* Jesuit, who fill'd his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had receiv'd the Money that was assign'd to the King, he return'd to *Bruges*, as the Marquis did from the Army, when the business of *Conde* was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believ'd, from the time that the secret confidence begun between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal, and long before *Lockhart* appear'd there as Ambassador, that the Cardinal had not only pro-

Muskery
brings his
Regiment
over to the
Spaniards.

The Chancel-
lor of the
Exchequer's
Conferences
with Don
Alonso.

mis'd, "that the King should receive no assistance from
 "thence; but that no body who related to his Service, or a-
 "gainst whom no exception should be taken, should be per-
 "mitted to reside in *France*; and that, as the King had al-
 ready been driven thence; so when the time should be ripe,
 the Duke of *York* would be likewise necessitated to leave that
 Kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into *Flanders*,
 and upon the coming over of the six thousand *English* for the
 Service of *France*, and the publication of the Treaty with
Cromwell, the *French* did not much desire to keep that Article
 secret which provided against the King's residing in that King-
 dom, and for the exclusion of the Duke of *York*, and many
 other Persons, by Name, who attended upon the King, and
 some who had Charges in the Army. And the Cardinal, and
 the Queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to
 the Duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely la-
 mented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting
 respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know
 it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

The Cardinal
 gives notice
 to the Duke
 of York
 that he must
 leave the
 French
 Service.

AMONGST those who by that secret Article were to leave
 the *French* Service, the Earl of *Bristol* was one; whose Name
 was, as was generally believ'd, put into the Article by the
 Cardinal, rather than by *Cromwell*. For the Earl, having re-
 ceiv'd very great Obligations from the Cardinal, thought his
 Interest greater in the Queen than in truth it was (according
 to his Natural Custom of deceiving himself) and so, in the
 Cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had shew'd himself less
 inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the
 Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same fami-
 liarity as before (which the Earl took for pure Friendship.)
 until the time came for the publishing this Treaty, when the
 Earl was Lieutenant General of the Army in *Italy*. Then
 he sent for him; and bewailed the Condition that *France* was

The Earl of
 Bristol un-
 derstand-
 ing this,
 desired to
 leave
 France.

in, "which obliged them to receive Commands from *Crom-
 well*, which were very uneasy to them; then told him,
 "that he could stay no longer in their Service, and that they
 "must be compell'd to dismiss the Duke of *York* himself; but
 made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would
 "part with him, as with a Man that had done them great
 "Service. The Earl, who could always much better bear ill
 Accidents than prevent them, believ'd that all proceeded from
 the Malice of *Cromwell*; and quickly had the Image of a bet-
 ter Fortune in his fancy than that he was so quit; and so set-
 ting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of Money
 from them as he could, and the Cardinal desiring to part
 fairly with him, he receiv'd such a Present, as enabled him
 to remove with a handsome-Equipage in Servants and Horses.

So

So he came directly for *Bruges* to the King; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his Majesty left *Paris*. But his business there was only to present his Duty to his Majesty; where after he had stay'd two or three days, he made his Journey to the Army to offer his Service to *Don Juan*, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King.

THERE was nothing more known, than that the *Spaniards* had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the Earl, both for the little kindness he had shew'd towards them in *England*, whilst he was Secretary of State, of which *Don Alonso* was a faithful Remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary Animosity he had express'd against them from the time that he had been in the *French* Service; which anger'd them the more, because he had been born in *Spain*. He had then likewise render'd himself particularly odious to *Flanders*; where he was proclaim'd, and detested, in all the Rhymes and Songs of the Country, for the savage Outrages his Forces had committed by Fire and Plunder, two years before, when he made a Winter Incurſion with his Troops into that Country, and committed greater Wast than ever the *French* themselves had done, when the Forces were Commanded by them. Upon all which, his Friends dissuaded him at *Bruges* from going to the *Spanish* Army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smil'd at the advertisement; and told them, "that all the time he was in *France*, he was out of his Sphere; and that his own Genius always dispos'd him to *Spain*; where he was now resolv'd to make his Fortune. And with this confidence he left *Bruges*, and went to the Army, when it had newly taken *Combe*; where he found his reception such, both from *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

HE was present when *Don Juan* Eat, and when he us'd to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of Scholastic points, if his Confessor, or any other Learned Person, was present. The Earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the *Spanish* Language, made his Parts wonder'd at by every Body; and *Don Juan* begun to be very much pleas'd with his Company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in Astrology; in which he found the Earl so much more conversant than any Man he had met with, that, within a Week after he had first seen him, he desired the Earl to calculate his Nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to *Don Juan*; which when the Marquis of *Carracena* discern'd, he likewise treated him with more respect;

in which he found likewise his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant General of the *French Army* under Prince *Thomas*, in Conjunction with the Duke of *Medina*, against *Milain*, the very year before, when the Marquis of *Carrasque* was Governour there, he could both discourse the several Transactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his Conduct in signal Actions; which the Marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And *Don Alonso* being sent for to the Army to Consult some Affairs, though he had all imaginable detestation of the Earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in *Don Juan* and the Marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the Affairs of *England*; which he desired *Don Juan* and the Marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a Month in *Flanders*, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the Court, and to the Army; and suppressed, and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and *Don Juan* invited him to spend the Winter with him at *Brussels*.

He is instrumental in covering St. Ghislain to the Spaniards.

THERE was another Accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own Stars. The *French* had yet a Garrison at a place call'd *St. Ghislain*; which, being within few Leagues of *Brussels*, infested the whole Country very much, and even put them into Mutiny against the Court, that they would think of any other Expedition before they had reduced that Garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the Garrison were *Irish*, under the Command of *Schomberg*, an Officer of the first Rank. Some of the Officers were nearly ally'd to *St. George Lane*, who was Secretary to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up that place would be a Service to the King? And if it would, they would undertake it. The Marquis sent his Secretary to inform the Earl of *Bristol* of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from Heaven to raise his Fortune with the *Spaniard*. He communicated it to *Don Juan*, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by Persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a Service to the King. So now he became estranged between the King and *Don Juan*; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; *Don Juan* being very glad to find he had so much Interest in the King, and the King well pleased that he had such Credit with *Don Juan*, of whose Assistance in the next Winter he thought he should have much use;

use; for all Attempts upon *England* must be in the Winter. In a word, this Affair of *St Ghislain* was very acceptable to the *Spaniards*; their Campaign being ended without any other considerable Action than the taking of *Coudé*. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the Field, where they were sure the *French* would be early, and leave *St Ghislain* behind them; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the Siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the Earl to promise great rewards in Money, and Pensions, to those Officers, and Soldiers, who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that *Don Juan* assembling his Army together a little before *Christmas*, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though *Schemberg* discover'd the Conspiracy, and apprehended two or three of the Officers; yet the Soldiers, which were upon the Guards in some out-Forts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the *Spaniards*, he was compell'd to make Conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

THIS Service was of very great importance to the *Spaniards*, and no less detriment to the *French*, and consequently gave great Reputation to the Earl; who then came to the King at *Bruges*, and said all that he thought fit of *Don Juan* to the King, and, amongst the rest, "that *Don Juan* advis'd "his Majesty to send some discreet Person to *Madrid*, to solicit his Affairs there; but that he did not think the Person he had design'd to send thither (who was *St Henry de* *Brussels*, that had been long Resident in *Brussels*) "would be acceptable there. This was only to introduce another Person, who was dear to him, *St Henry Bennet*, who had been formerly in his Office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him; and was now Secretary to the Duke of *York*; but upon the Factions that were in that Family was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other Post; and was about this time come to the King, as a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of *York's* purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the Court of *France*. *Bennet* had been long a Person very acceptable to the King; and therefore his Majesty readily consented, that he should go to *Madrid* instead of *de Vic*: So he return'd with the Earl to *Brussels*, that he might be presented, and made known to *Don Juan*; from whom the Earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

He obtain'd of the King that Sir H. Bennet should be sent Every to Madrid.

THE time was now come that the Duke of *York* found it necessary to leave *Paris*, and so came to the King to *Bruges*; where they were then all the visible hopes of the Crown of *England* together, and all the Royal Issue of the late King, the Princess *Bruges*.

The Duke of York leaves Paris, and comes to the King at

Princess *Henrietta* only accepted; for, besides the King and his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, the Princess Royal of *Orange* made that her way from *Paris* into the Low Countries, and stay'd there some days with her Brothers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made Lord Chancellor.

IT was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of *England*, *Sr Edward Herbert*, who was the last Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being lately dead at *Paris*. Now the King put the Seal, which he had till then kept Himself, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he receiv'd very unwillingly: But the King first employed the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom his Majesty knew he had an entire Friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an Officer, or indeed any use of the Great Seal till the King should come into *England*; and "that his Majesty found some ease in being without such an Officer, that he was not troubled with those Suites, which he would be, if the Seal were in the hands of a proper Officer to be used, since every Body would be then importuning the King for the Grant of Offices, Honours, and Lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and do him as great mischief by granting. The which when the Marquis told the King) his Majesty himself went to the Chancellor's Lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alledged against receiving the Seal, was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him. Thereupon he pulled Letters out of his Pocket, which he receiv'd lately from *Paris* for the Grant of several Reversions in *England* of Offices, and of Lands; one whereof was of the Queen's House and Lands of *Oatlands*, to the same Man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good Sum of Money to that Person who was to procure such a confirmation of his Title; the draught whereof was prepared at *London*, upon confidence that it would have the Seal presently put to it; which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His Majesty told him also of many other Importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and "that he saw no other remedy to give him self ease, than to put the Seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny. And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that Trust, with many gracious promises of his Favour and Protection. Whereupon the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, using likewise Their perswasions, he submitted

mitted to the King's pleasure; who deliver'd the Seal to him in the Council, in the *Christmas* time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mention'd, because many great Affairs, and some Alterations accompanied, though not attend-
ed upon it.

AFTER so long and so dark a retirement in *Cologne*, the King's very coming into *Flanders* raised the Spirits of his Friends in *England*. And when they were assured that there was a Treaty sign'd between his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, they made no doubt of an Army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the Kingdom would finish it. The King, who had hitherto restrain'd his Friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to joyn with him when he appear'd; which he hoped the *Spaniards* would enable him to do in the depth of Winter. Several Messengers were sent from *England* to assure him, "that there was so *universal* a readiness there, that they could hardly be per-
"swaded to stay to expect the King, but they would begin
"the Work Themselves: yet they complain'd much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the King, and They again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "that they would ruin themselves, "and all People who should joyn with them.

THE King was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the Work very hard; and though he prefer'd in his own opinion the judgement of those that were most wary, yet it concern'd him to prevent the other from appearing in an unreasonable Engagement; and therefore He sent to them, and conjured them "to attempt nothing, till he sent a Person to them, who, "if they were ready, should have Authority enough to per-
"swade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should him-
"self be fit to conduct them in any reasonable Enterprize.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* had frankly offer'd to the King, *which was the occasion of the Mar-
quis of Ormond's go-
ing into England.*
"that he would privately go into *England*, and confer with
"those who were most forward; and if he found, that their
"counsels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them,
"and unite all the rest to them; and if matters were not ripe,
"he would compose them to be quiet; and there was no Man
in *England* affected to the King's Service, who would not
be readily advised by him. The Chancellor would by no
means consent to his Journey, as an unreasonable Adventure
upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they
could do any thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalue
any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceiv'd,
with

with what security all Men ventur'd every day, in the height of *Cromwell's* jealousy and vigilance, to go into *England*, and to stay a Month in *London*, and return again. The King consenting to the Journey, the chief care was, that the Marquis's absence from *Bruges* might not create jealousy, and discourse, "whither he should be gone. Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "that the Marquis of *Ormond* was to "go into *Germany* to the Duke of *Newburgh* (who was known to have affection for the King) and "that he should from "thence bring with him two Regiments for the Service of "his Majesty.

THESE discourses being generally made and believ'd, the Marquis took his Leave publickly of the King, with his Servants fit for such a Journey, who continued the Journey towards *Germany*; so that the Letters from *Cologne* to all places gave an Account of the Marquis of *Ormond's* being there; whilst he himself, with one only Servant, and O Neale (who had encouraged him very much to that undertaking) took the way of *Holland*; and hired a Bark at *Schevelin*; in which they Embarked, and were safely landed in *Essex*; from whence, without any trouble, they got to *London*, whilst the Parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found means to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose Advice, and Interest, the King most depended, and against whose positive Advice his Majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an Animosity between many of those who equally wish'd the King's Restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in Meetings or Correspondencies before, complain'd very much of "the rashness of the others, who believ'd any Officer of the Army "that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them "to communicate with such Persons; which because they refused (as they had reason) the others loaded them with reproaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his Majesty's "Services: They protested, "that they could not discover "or believe that there was any such preparations in readiness, "that it could be counsellable to appear in Arms against a "Government so fortified, and established, as the Protector's "seem'd to be: that it was probable the Parliament might "not comply with *Cromwell's* desires; and then there was "such a discovery of Malice between several Persons of potent Condition, that many advantages might be offered to "the King's Party: if they would have the patience to attend "the

The temper
he found
the King's
friends in.

"the event, and till those Factions should be engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the King's Interest in disposing of themselves; but if they should engage, before such a time, in any Insurrection; or by seizing some insignificant Town, all dissenting Parties would be reconciled, till the King's Friends should all be ruin'd, though they might afterwards return to their old Animosities. In a word, though they appear'd very wary, they declared such a resignation to the King's pleasure, "that, if the Marquis were satisfied, upon his conference with other Men, that the time was ripe for their appearance in Armes, they would presently receive his Orders; and do what he should require, how unsuccessfully soever.

ON the other side, there were many younger Men, who, having had no part in the former War, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the King. And those Men, being acquainted with many of the old Officers of the late King's Army, who saw many of their old Soldiers now in *Cromwell's* Army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the King, as soon as they should see his colours flying. These Men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two Troops of Horse, to beat up such a Quarter, or seize such a Guard; and then those Men consulted Men how to get those Troops, and found Men who had lifted so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these Meetings some Citizens, who undertook for the affection of the City; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many Gentlemen's Sons as Apprentices into the City, since the beginning of the Troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that People. It was upon this kind of Materials, that many honest Men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from Officers of the Army, who were as little to be depended upon.

THERE was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper; which passing from hand to hand had made Men impatient to be in Armes; which was an opinion; that the King was even ready to hand with such an Army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent Expresses into *Flanders*; who, though they always lay conceal'd during the time they waited for their dispatches from the King, yet found some Friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good service in making his Majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so fill'd those People with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they return'd.

W H E N

WHEN the Marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer People to be quiet, and not to think of any Action till they should be infallibly sure of the King's being landed, and confirm'd the other in their warmth; and being informed that *Cromwell* knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the Parliament was dissolv'd, he was conducted by Dr *Quetmaine*, the King's Physician, through *Suffex*; and there Embarked, and safely Transported into *France*; from whence he came into *Flanders*.

The Marquis returns out of England.

THIS gave the Occasion to *Cromwell* to make that discourse before mentioned to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, of the Lord Marquis of *Ormond's* having been three Weeks in the City; of which he had receiv'd perfect Intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into *Cromwell's* hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the Protector was well assured that the Marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all Persons, whom he knew had, or he thought might, have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All Prisons, as well in the Country as the City, were fill'd with those who had been of the King's Party, or he believ'd would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his Enemies, of all conditions, within the Kingdom, with Spectacles which might mortify them.

Cromwell apprehends several Persons.

IN the preparations which had been made towards an Insurrection, many Persons in the Country, as well as in the City, had receiv'd Commissions for Regiments of Horse and Foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr *Stapley*, a Gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the County of *Suffex*; whose Mother had been Sister to the Earl of *Northwich*, but his Father had been in the Number of the blackest Offenders, and one of the King's Judges. This Son of his, who now possessed his Estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the Company of those who were known to have affection for the King; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his Father's Crime, to venture his own life, and his Fortune for his Majesty's Restoration; and not only his Fortune, but his Interest was considerable in that Maritime County: so that Many thought fit to cherish those Inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that Estate, which the Treason of his Father had forfeited.

Mr Stapley's Engagement for the King.

Mr Mordeant is active for the King

THERE was a young Gentleman, *John Mordeant*, the younger Son, and Brother, of the Earls of *Peterborough*; who, having

having been too young to be engaged in the late War, during which time he had his Education in *France* and *Italy*, was now of Age, of Parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful Lady of a very Loyal Spirit, and notable vivacity of Wit and Humour, who concurr'd with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolv'd to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence, to take the same resolution; and being allied to the Marquis of *Ormond*, he did by him inform his Majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many Months before the Marquis's Journey into *England*.

Mr STAPLEY was well known to Mr *Mordaunt*, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in *Suffex*, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a Letter to the King under Mr *Stapley*'s own hand: and thereupon Mr *Mordaunt* desired, that his Majesty would send a Commission for the Command of a Regiment of Horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which Commission, with many others, was sent to Mr *Mordaunt*; and he deliver'd it to Mr *Stapley*; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renew'd all his Vows and Protestations, and it is still believ'd that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some Servant, who betray'd him; and being thereupon sent for by *Cromwell*, his Father's fast old Friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he conceal'd nothing that he knew himself; inform'd him of those of the same Country who were to joyn with him; of whom some had likewise receiv'd Commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had receiv'd his Commission from Mr *Mordaunt*'s own hand. Before this discovery Mr *Mordaunt* had been sent for by *Cromwell*, and very strictly examin'd, whether he had seen the Marquis of *Ormond* during his late being in *London*; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assur'd that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismiss'd to return to his own Lodging. But upon this discovery by Mr *Stapley*, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close Prisoner to the Tower; and new Men were every day sent for, and committed in all Quarters of the Kingdom; and within some time after, a high Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of the Prisoners, the Crimes of none being yet discover'd; which put all those who knew how

Mr *Stapley*
discovers
what he
knew of the
Plot.

Mr *Mordaunt* (sifts
em, and com-
mitted to the
Tower.

how lyable they themselves were, under a terrible Consternation.

Mr Mor-
daunt; Sr
H. Slings-
by; and Dr
Hewet, try-
ed before a
high Court
of Justice.

BEFORE this high Court of Justice, of which *John Lisle*, who gave his Vote in the King's blood, and continued an entire Confident and Instrument of *Cromwells* was President; there were first brought to be tried, *John Mordaunt*; *Sr Harry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of a very ample Fortune in *Tork-shire*; and *Dr Hewet*, an eminent Preacher in *London*, and very Orthodox, to whose Church those of the King's Party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the Impeachment, but demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and desire to have Council assign'd to argue against it in point of Law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge Law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that Court, and that it was erected contrary to Law. The first that was brought to tryal, was *Mr Mordaunt*. After his Arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley* would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead Not-guilty; but insisted, "that by the Law of the Land he ought not to be tried by that Court; for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that his Council might have liberty to argue the point in Law; which of course used to be granted in all Legal Courts. But he was told, "that he was better to be-
"think himself; that they were well satisfied in the Legality
"of their Court, and would not suffer the Jurisdiction of it
"to be disputed; that the Law of *England* had provided a
"Sentence for such obstinate Persons as refused to be tried
"by it; which was, that they should be condemn'd as Mutes;
"which would be His Case, if he continued refractory: so
he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what
he would do the next day. *Sr Harry Slingsby* was call'd next.
He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded
Not-guilty; and so was sent to the Prison to be tried in his
turn. *Dr Hewet*, whose greatest Crime was collecting and
sending Money to the King, besides having given Money to
some Officers, refused to plead, as *Mr Mordaunt* had done,
and demanded that his Council might be heard; and receiv'd
the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and
was remitted again to Prison.

THOSE

THOSE Courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty Judges; amongst whom, there were usually some, who, out of pity, or for Money, were inclin'd to do good Offices to the Prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such Secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr *Mordaunt's* Lady had, by giving Money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her Husband: and in the Evening of that day the Tryal had been begun, she receiv'd two very important advices from them. The one, "that she should prevail with her Husband to plead; then his Friends might do him some Service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of Law, he would infallibly suffer, and no Man durst speak for him. The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charg'd, but only for the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley*; and that there was to that point, besides *Stapley*, one Colonel *Mallory*, whose testimony was more valued than the other's. This *Mallory* had the reputation of an honest Man, and lov'd Mr *Mordaunt* very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of *Sussex*, and had been apprehended about the same time that *Stapley* was; and finding, upon his first Examination, by the Questions administer'd to him by *Thurlow*, that all was discover'd, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr *Mordaunt*; having been himself the Person principally employ'd between him and *Stapley*. He was brought in Custody from the Tower, to give in Evidence against Mr *Mordaunt*, with an intention in the Court, after he had done that good Service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

THE Lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that Night to advertise her Husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of Jurisdiction in the Court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his Tryal. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the Morning, and passed the Night in contriving how *Mallory* might be prevailed with to make an Escape; and was so dextrous, and so fortunate, that a Friend of Hers disposed the Money she gave him so effectually, that the next Morning, when *Mallory* was brought to the Hall to be ready to give in his Evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his Guard, and when he was in the Crowd he easily got away.

SHE had as good fortune likewise to have a little Note she writ concerning the other Advice, put into her Husbands hand, as he passed to the Bar; which having perused, he de-

*The means
by which Mr
Mordaunt
escaped Sen-
tence.*

parted from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the President, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his Tryal; and behaved himself with Courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the Evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King, with notable Address. That of the Commission of *Stapley* was reserv'd to the last; and the Commission being produced, and both the hand and the Signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at *Worcester*, and by many other Accidents, Mr *Stapley* was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr *Mordaunt*, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the Council that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr *Mordaunt*; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appear'd he had much rather not have said it; and answer'd the Questions Mr *Mordaunt* asked him with that confusion, that his Evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial Judges. Then *Mallory* was call'd for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own Rules, defer their Sentence. And it so fell out by one of the Judge's withdrawing upon a suddain fit of the Stone, that the Court was divided, one half for the Condemning him, and the other half that he was not Guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single Vote of the President; who made some excuses for the Justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the Mother of the Prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him Innocent for ought appear'd to the Court. There was not in *Cromwell's* time the like Instance; and scarce any other Man escaped the Judgement, that was tried before any High Court of Justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some Months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, *Mallory* was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a *French*-man, who had long serv'd him, and was the only Servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allow'd but one) to attend him in the Prison: and he had discover'd enough to have taken away his Life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the Case so unheard of, that any Man, discharg'd upon a publick Tryal, should be again proceeded against upon new Evidence for the same Offence, that *Cromwell* himself thought not fit to undergo the

Reproach

Reproach of it, but was in the end prevail'd with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the King's Service as before, and with better Success.

SIR *Harry Slingsby*, and poor Dr *Hewet* had worse fortune; and their Blood was the more thirsted after for the other's Indemnity; and the Court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in Prison in *Hull*, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new Plot, to make so many formidable Examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him Evidence enough (besides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the first assaulting it) that he had contriv'd, and contracted with some Officers of *Hull*, about the time that the Earl of *Roussset* had been in *York-shire* two years before, for the delivery of one of the Block-Houses to him for the King's Service: nor did he care to defend himself against the Accusation; but rather acknowledged, and justified his Affection, and own'd his Loyalty to the King, with very little compliment, or ceremony to the present Power. The other, Dr *Hewet*, and Doctor receiving no information of Mr *Mordaunt's* declining the way formerly resolv'd upon (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, no Body being suffer'd to speak with him) and being brought to the Bar as soon as the other was remov'd from it, persister in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the Court; which, upon better information, and before the Judgement was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his Tryal: but they then refused to admit him; and so They are both Sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian Courage.

SIR *Harry Slingsby*, as is said before, was in the first Rank of the Gentlemen of *York-shire*; and was return'd to serve as a Member in the Parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the Troubles begun; and having no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, he was sway'd only by his Conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholick Nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good Conscience in their Councils, in which he never concurr'd, he went into his Country, and joyn'd with the first who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remain'd still in his own House, prepar'd and disposed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune and a general Reputation, had a greater

Influence upon the People, than They who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new Government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great Intercession to preserve him. For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*; who engaged his Wife and all his new Allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being an honest Man, of which he" was very glad.

And of Dr
Hewet.

Dr HEWET was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of the Troubles. He lived in *Oxford*, and in the Army, till the end of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little Church in *London*: where, by the affection of the *Parish*, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwell's* Daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his Church) after the ceremony of the time, He was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady, to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his Life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the Churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his Mercy.

Colonel Ash-
ton, and
Stacy; and
Betteley,
Citizens,
condemn'd
and executed

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*; with which he was charged in his Indictment; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before-mention'd, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, Colonel *Ashton*, *Stacy*, and *Betteley*, condemn'd by the same Court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quarter'd, with the utmost rigour, in several great Streets in the City, to make the deeper impression upon the People, the two last being Citizens. But all Men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemn'd, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom *Mallory* was one; who was not at liberty till the King's Return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than They were against whom he had trespassed.

THOUGH the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet *Cromwell* did not seem to be the more confirm'd in his Tyranny. It is true, the King's Party was the more dispirited; but

but *Cromwell* found another kind of Enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole Body of Sectaries, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, declar'd an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise enter'd into several Conspiracies to Assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an Address to the King by one of their Party, a young Gentleman of an honourable Extraction, and great Parts, by whom they made many extravagant Propositions, and seem'd to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwell*, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the King; who gave such an Answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute, or trouble any Men for their Opinions, if their Actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Cromwell found new Enemies among the Sectaries.

An Address sent by the Anabaptists to the King.

SINCE the Spirit, Humour, and Language of that People, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that Petition and Address, which was never published, and of which there remains no Copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the Original, which was presented to the King (it being too dangerous a thing for any Man who remained in *England*, to have any such transcript in his Custody) it will not be amiss in this place to insert the Petition and Address in the very words in which it was presented to his Majesty, with the Letter, that accompanied it from the Gentleman mention'd before, who was an Anabaptist of special Trust among them, and who came not with the Petition, but expected the King's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an Officer who had serv'd the King in an eminent Command, and was now gracious amongst those Sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former Principles and Integrity: For that People always pretended a just esteem and value of all Men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and liv'd soberly and virtuously. The Address was in these words:

To his most Excellent Majesty, Charles the Second, King The Address of great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

"The humble Address of the Subscribers, in the behalf of
 "themselves, and many thousands more, your Majesty's
 "most humble and faithful Subjects.

"May it please your Majesty,

"WHEN We sit down, and recount the wonderful and un-

"heard of Dispensations of God amongst Us, when We call
 "to our remembrances the Tragical Actions, and Transac-
 "tions of these late times, when We seriously consider the dark
 "and mysterious effects of Providence, the unexpected dis-
 "appointment of Counsels, the strange and strong Conval-
 "lutions of State, the various and violent Motions and Commo-
 "tions of the People, the many Changings, Turnings, and
 "Overturnings of Governours, and Governments, which, in
 "the Revolutions of a few years, have been produced in this
 "Land of Miracles, We cannot but be even swallowed up in
 "Astonishment, and are constrain'd to command an unwill-
 "ling Silence upon our sometimes mutinous, and over-inquir-
 "ing Hearts, resolving all into the good Will and Pleasure of
 "that All-disposing One, whose Wisdom is unsearchable, and
 "whose Ways are past finding out.

"But although it is, and We hope ever will be, far from
 "Us, either peevishly or presumptuously to kick against the
 "irresistible Decrees of Heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any
 "faint and infirm designs of Ours, to give an interruption to
 "that Over-ruling Divine hand, which steers, and guides, go-
 "vern, and determines the Affairs of the whole World; yet
 "We cannot but judge it a Duty highly incumbent upon Us,
 "to endeavour, as much as in Us lies, to repair the breaches
 "of Our dear Country. And, since it is Our lot (We may
 "say our unhappiness) to be embark'd in a Shipwreck'd Com-
 "mon-wealth (which, like a poor weather-beaten Pinnace,
 "has, for so long a time, been tossed upon the waves and bil-
 "lows of Faction, split upon the Rocks of violence, and is
 "now almost quite devour'd in the Quick-sands of Ambi-
 "tion) what can We do more worthy of *English-Men*, as We
 "are by Nation, or of *Christians*, as We are by Profession, than
 "every one of Us to put our hand to an Oar, and try if it be
 "the Will of Our God, that such weak Instruments as We,
 "may be, in any measure, helpful to bring it at last into the
 "safe and quiet Harbour of Justice and Righteousness?

"To this Undertaking, though too great for Us, We are
 "apt to think Our selves so much the more strongly engaged,
 "by how much the more We are sensible, that as our Sins have
 "been the greatest Causes, so our many follies and impru-
 "dences have not been the least means of giving both birth and
 "growth to those many Miseries and Calamities, which We,
 "together with Three once most Flourishing Kingdoms, do at
 "this day sadly groan under.

"It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto Us,
 "nor can We believe it will be grateful to your Majesty, that
 "We should recur to the beginning, rise, and root of the late
 "unhappy differences betwixt your Royal Father and the
 "Par-

“Parliament. In such a discourse as this, We may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the Wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them : yet forasmuch as We do profess, that We come not with Corrosives but with Balsoms, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour Vinegar but Oyl into the Wounds, We hope your Majesty will give Us leave to open them gently, that We may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past errors the more clearly.

“IN what posture the Affairs of these Nations stood, before the noise of Drums and Trumpets disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst Us, is not unknown to your Majesty : that We were blest with a long Peace, and together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of Peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the Author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the Memory of those Princes, your Father, and Grandfather, by the propitious Influence of whose care, and wisdom, We thus flourish’d. But, as it is observ’d in Natural Bodies, idleness, and fulness of Diet, do for the most part lay the foundation of those Maladies, and secretly nourish those Diseases, which can hardly be expell’d by the assistance of the most skilful Physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome Medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazardous tryal of the most dangerous Experiments ; so did We find it, by sad experience, to be in this great Body Politick. It cannot be denied, but the whole Common-wealth was faint, the whole Nation sick, the whole Body out of order, every Member thereof feeble, and every Part thereof languishing. And in this so general, and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the Head, cannot well be imagin’d. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs, but, in general, We may say, and We think it will gain the easy assent of all Men, that there were many errors, many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and excentrical Proceedings (some of which were in matters of the highest and greatest Concernments) manifestly appearing as blots, and stains, upon the otherwise good Government of the late King. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own disposition, or from Principles of Tyranny radicated and implanted in his own Nature, We do not see how it can be asserted, without apparent injury to the truth ; it being confessed, even by his most peevish Enemies, that He was a Gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect Intellectuals, so of the best and purest Morals, of any Prince that

"ever sway'd the *English* Scepter. This the then Parliament
 "being sensible of, and desirous, out of a Zeal they had to the
 "Honour of their Sovereign, to disperse and dispel those black
 "Clouds that were contracted about him, that he might
 "shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own Lustre,
 "thought themselves engag'd in Duty to endeavour to redeem,
 "and rescue him from the violent and strong impulses of his
 "evil Counsellors; who did Captivate him at their pleasures
 "to their own corrupt Lusts, and did every day thrust him
 "into Actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the
 "common Good and Safety of the People.

"UPON this Account, and to this, and no other end, were
 "We at first invited to take up Armes; and though We have
 "too great cause to conclude from what We have since seen
 "acted, that, under those plausible, and gilded pretences of
 "Liberty and Reformation, there were secretly managed the
 "hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious Persons (whom
 "though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Provi-
 "dence, and the Series of things, have since discover'd to
 "Us) yet We bless God, that We went out in the simplicity
 "of our Souls, aiming at nothing more but what was pub-
 "lickly own'd in the face of the Sun; and that We were so
 "far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our Alle-
 "giance to his Majesty, or extirpating his Family, that We
 "had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of
 "any of his just Prerogatives, but only of restraining those
 "excesses of Government for the future, which were nothing
 "but the Excrecences of a wanton Power, and were more
 "truly to be accounted the burthens, than ornaments, of his
 "Royal Diadem.

"THESE things, Sir, We are bold to make recital of to
 "your Majesty; not that we suppose your Majesty to be ig-
 "norant of them, or that We take delight to derive the Pedi-
 "gree of our own, and the Nations Misfortunes; but, like
 "poor wilder'd Travellers, perceiving that We have lost our
 "way, We are necessitated, though with tired and irksome
 "steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that We may
 "discover where it was that We first turn'd aside, and may in-
 "stitute a more prosperous course in the progress of our Jour-
 "ney. Thus far We can say We have gone right, keeping the
 "road of Honesty and Sincerity, and having as yet done no-
 "thing but what We think We are able to justify, not by those
 "weak and beggarly Arguments, drawn either from success,
 "which is the same to the just and to the unjust, or from the
 "silence and satisfaction of a becalm'd Conscience, which is
 "more often the effect of blindness than Virtue, but from the
 "sure, safe, sound, and unerring Maxims of Law, Justice, Rea-
 "son, and Righteousness.

"IN

"IN all the rest of our Motions ever since to this very day,
 "We must confess, We have been wandering, deviating, and
 "roving up and down, this way and that way, through all
 "the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden Paths of Phana-
 "tick and Enthusiastick Notions, till now at last, but too
 "late, We find our selves intricated and involv'd in so many
 "Windings, Labyrinths, and Mæanders of knavery, that no-
 "thing but a divine clew of thread handed to Us from Hea-
 "ven, can be sufficient to extricate Us, and restore Us. We
 "know not, We know not, whether We have juster matter
 "of shame or sorrow administer'd to Us, when We take a re-
 "flex view of our past Actions, and consider into the com-
 "mission of what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard
 "of Villanies, We have been led, cheated, coulen'd, and be-
 "tray'd, by that Grand Impostor, that loathsome Hypocrite,
 "that detestable Traytor, that Prodigy of Nature, that oppro-
 "brium of Mankind, that Landskip of Iniquity, that Sink of
 "Sin, and that Compendium of baseness, who now calls him-
 "self our Protector. What have We done, nay, what have
 "We not done, which either hellish Policy was able to con-
 "trive, or brutish power to execute? We have trampled un-
 "der foot all Authorities; We have laid violent hands upon
 "our own Sovereign; We have ravish'd our Parliaments;
 "We have deslour'd the Virgin Liberty of our Nation; We
 "have put a Yoke, an heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the Necks
 "of our own Country-men; We have thrown down the
 "Walls and Bullwarks of the People's safety; We have bro-
 "ken often-repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants,
 "Protestations; We have betray'd our Trusts; We have vio-
 "lated our Faiths; We have lifted up our hands to Heaven
 "decentfully; and that these our Sins might want no aggra-
 "vation to make them exceeding sinful, We have added Hy-
 "pocrisy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious
 "Strumpet, wiped our Mouths, and boasted *that We have*
 "*done no evil*; but in the midst of all our abominations (such
 "as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of Heathens)
 "We have not wanted impudence enough to say, let the Lord
 "be glorified: Let Jesus Christ be exalted: Let his Kingdom
 "be advanced: Let the Gospel be propagated: let the Saints
 "be dignified: Let Righteousness be establish'd: *Pudet hæc*
 "*opprobria Nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.*

"WILL not the Holy One of *Israel* visit? will not the
 "Righteous One punish? will not He who is the true and
 "faithful One, be avenged for such things as these? will He
 "not, nay has he not already, come forth as a swift witness
 "against Us? has he not whet his Sword? has he not bent
 "his Bow? has he not prepared his Quiver? has he not al-
 "ready

"ready begun to shoot his Arrows at Us? who is so blind as
 "not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon Us, and
 "that his Anger waxes hotter and hotter against Us? how
 "have our Hopes been blasted? how have our Expectations
 "been disappointed? how have our Ends been frustrated? All
 "those pleasant Gourds, under which We were sometimes
 "solacing and carefing our selves, how are they perisht'd in a
 "moment? how are they wither'd in a Night? how are they
 "vanish'd, and come to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and
 "righteous are all his Judgements. We have sown the wind,
 "and We have reap'd a whirlwind; We have sown Faction,
 "and We have reap'd Confusion; We have sown Folly, and
 "We have reap'd Deceit: when We look'd for Liberty, behold
 "Slavery; when We expected Righteousness, behold Oppres-
 "sion; when We sought for Justice, behold a Cry, a great, and
 "a lamentable Cry throughout the whole Nation.

"EVERY Man's hand is upon his Loins, every one com-
 "plaining, sighing, Mourning, lamenting, and saying, I am
 "pain'd, I am pain'd, pain and anguish, and sorrow, and per-
 "plexity of Spirit has taken hold upon me, like the pains of
 "a Woman in Travel. Surely We may take up the lamenta-
 "tion of the Prophet concerning this the Land of our Nati-
 "vity. How does *England* sit Solitary? how is she become
 "as a Widow? she, that was great amongst the Nations, and
 "Princess among the Provinces, how is she now become tri-
 "butary? she weepeth sore in the Night; her Tears are on
 "her Cheeks; amongst all her Lovers she hath none to com-
 "fort her; all her Friends have dealt treacherously with her,
 "they are become her Enemies; she listeth up her voice in
 "the Streets, she cryeth aloud in the Gates of the City, "in the
 "places of chief Concourse, she sitteth, and thus We hear her
 "wailing and bemoaning her Condition; is it nothing to you,
 "all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow
 "like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith
 "the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce Anger.
 "The Yoke of my Transgressions is bound by his hands, they
 "are wreath'd, and come up upon my Neck; he hath made
 "my strength to fall, the Lord hath deliver'd me into their
 "hands from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath
 "trodden under foot all my Mighty Men in the midst of me;
 "he hath call'd an Assembly to crush my young Men; he hath
 "trodden me as in a Wine-press; all that pass by clap their
 "hands at me, they hiss and wag their Heads at me, saying, is
 "this the Nation that Men call the perfection of Beauty? the
 "joy of the whole Earth? all mine Enemies have open'd their
 "Mouths against me, they hiss and gnash their teeth; they
 "say, We have swallow'd her up; certainly this is the
 "day

"day that We looked for, We have found, We have seen
"it.

"How are our Bowels troubled? how are our Hearts
"saddened? how are our Souls afflicted, whilst We hear the
"groans, whilst We see the desolation of our dear Country?
"it pitieth Us, it pitieth Us, that Sion should lye any longer
"in the dust. But, alas! what shall We do for her in this
"day of her great Calamity? We were sometimes wise to pull
"down, but We now want art to build; We were inge-
"nious to pluck up, but We have no skill to plant; We were
"strong to destroy, but We are weak to restore: whither
"shall We go for help? or to whom shall We address our
"selves for Relief? if We say, We will have recourse to Par-
"liaments, and They shall save Us; behold, They are broken
"Reeds, Reeds shaken with the wind. They cannot save
"Themselves. If We turn to the Army, and say, They are
"Bone of our Bone and Flesh of our Flesh, it may be They will
"at last, have pity upon Us, and deliver Us; behold, They
"are become as a Rod of Iron to bruise Us, rather than a staff
"of Strength to support Us. If We go to him who hath trea-
"cherously Usurped, and does Tyrannically exercise an unjust
"Power over Us, and say to him, free Us from this Yoke,
"for it oppresseth Us, and from these Burthens, for they are
"heavier than either We are, or our Fathers ever were able
"to bear; behold, in the Pride and Haughtiness of his Spirit,
"he answers Us, you are Factionous, you are Factionous; if your
"Burthens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier; if I have
"hitherto chastised you with Whips, I will henceforward cha-
"stise you with Scorpions.

"THUS do We fly, like Partridges hunted, from Hill to
"Hill, and from Mountain to Mountain, but can find no rest;
"We look this way, and that way, but there is none to save,
"none to deliver. At last We begun to whisper, and but to
"whisper only, among our selves, saying one to another, why
"should We not return to our first Husband? surely it will be
"better with Us then, than it is now. At the first starting of
"this Question amongst Us, many doubts, many fears, many
"jealousies, many suspicions did arise within Us. We were
"Conscious to our selves, that We had dealt unkindly with
"him, that We had treacherously forsaken him, that We had
"deserted our selves with other Lovers, and that our filthiness
"was still upon our skirts: Therefore were We apt to con-
"clude, if We do not return unto him, how can he receive
"Us? or if he does receive Us, how can he love Us? how
"can he pardon the injuries We have done unto him? how
"can he forget the unkindness We have shewn unto him in
"the day of his distress?

"WE

"We must confess (for We come not to deceive your
 Majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cowardly
 Apprehensions did, for a while, make some strong impressions upon Us; and had almost frightened Us out of our
 newly conceiv'd thoughts of Duty and Loyalty. But it was
 not long before they vanish'd, and gave place to the more
 Noble and Heroick considerations of Common Good, Publick Safety, the Honour, Peace, Welfare, and Prosperity, of
 these Nations; all which We are perswaded, and do find,
 though by too late Experience, are as inseparably, and as
 naturally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire, or light
 in the Sun. Contemning therefore, and disdaining, the
 mean and low thoughts of our own private Safety (which
 We have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so
 good and so gracious a Prince) We durst not allow of any
 longer debate about matters of Personal concernment; but
 did think our selves engaged in Duty, Honour, and Conscience, to make this our humble Address unto your Majesty, and to leave our selves at the feet of your Mercy:
 yet, lest We should seem to be altogether negligent of that
 first Good, though since dishonour'd, Cause, which God has
 so eminently own'd Us in, and to be unmindful of the Security of those, who, together with our selves, being carried
 away with the delusive, and hypocritical pretences of wicked
 and ungodly Men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been
 drawn into a concurrence with those Actions which may
 render them justly obnoxious to your Majestys indignation,
 We have presum'd in all humility to offer unto your Majesty these few Propositions hereunto annexed; to which if
 your Majesty shall be pleas'd graciously to condescend, We
 do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, before whose Tribunal We know We must one day appear,
 that We will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto Us, for
 the restoring, and reestablishing your Majesty in the Throne
 of your Father; and that We will never be wanting in a
 ready and willing compliance to your Majesty's Commands
 to approve our selves,

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble, most faithful,

"and most devoted Subjects and Servants,

W. Howard.

Ralph Jennings.

Edw. Penkman.

John Hedworth.

John Sturgeon.

John Wildman.

John Annigen.

Randolph Hedworth.

Thomas

Rich. Reynolds.

"The

"The earnest desires of the Subscribers, in all humility presented to your Majesty in these following Proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and well groundd Peace in these your Majesty's Dominions. *Their Propositions annexed to it.*

1. "FORASMUCH as the Parliament, call'd and conven'd by the Authority of his late Majesty your Royal Father, in the year 1640, was never legally Dissolv'd, but did continue their Sitting until the year 1648. at which time the Army, violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever since given a continued Interruption to their Session, by taking away the whole House of Lords, and secluding the greatest part of the House of Commons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to the end We may be establish'd upon the ancient basis and foundation of Law) your Majesty would be pleas'd, by publick Proclamations, as soon as it shall be judg'd seasonable, to invite all those Persons, as well Lords as Commons, who were then Sitting, to return to their places ; and that your Majesty would own them (so conven'd and mettogether) to be the true and lawful Parliament of *England*.

2. "THAT your Majesty would concur with the Parliament in the Ratification and Confirmation of all those things granted, and agreed unto by the late King your Father, at the last and fatal Treaty in the Isle of *Wight* ; as also in the making and repealing of all such Laws, Acts, and Statutes, as by the Parliament shall be judg'd expedient and necessary to be made, and repealed, for the better securing of the just and natural Rights and Liberties of the People, and for the obviating, and preventing all dangerous and destructive excesses of Government for the future.

3. "FORASMUCH as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his Death and Resurrection, has purchased the Liberties of his own People, and is thereby become their sole Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe Obedience in things Spiritual ; We do therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would engage your Royal Word never to erect, nor suffer to be erected, any such Tyrannical, Popish, and Antichristian Hierarchy (Episcopall, Presbyterian, or by what name soever it be call'd) as shall assume a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the Consciences of others ; but that every one of your Majesty's Subjects may hereafter be left at liberty to worship God in such a way, form, and manner, as shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ, revealed in his word, according to that proportion, or measure of faith and knowledge which they have receiv'd.

4. FORAS-

4. "FORASMUCH as the Exaction of Tithes is a burthen under which the whole Nation groans in general, and the People of God in particular, We would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to your Majesty's consideration, that, if it be possible, some other way may be found out for the maintenance of that which is call'd the National Ministry; and that those of the separated and congregated Churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are) be compell'd to contribute thereunto.

5. "FORASMUCH as in these times of Licence, Confusion, and Disorder, many honest, godly, and religious Persons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences of wicked Men, have been ignorantly, and blindly led, either into the commission of, or compliance with many vile, illegal, and abominable Actions, whereof they are now ashamed, We do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty, that an Act of Amnesty and Oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging, all your Majesty's long deceiv'd, and deluded Subjects, from the guilt and imputation of all Crimes, Treasons, and Offences whatsoever, committed or done by them, or any of them, either against your Majesty's Father, or your self, since the beginning of these unhappy Wars, excepting only such who do adhere to that ugly Tyrant who calls himself Protector, or who, in justification of His, or any other Interest, shall, after the publication of this Act of Grace, continue and persevere in their disloyalty to your Majesty.

THE Gentleman who brought this Address, and these wild Propositions, brought likewise with him a particular Letter to the King from the Gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the Messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his Companions; and told this Gentleman, "that, though the first Address could not be prepared but with those Demands, which might satisfy the whole Party, and comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet if the King gave them such an encouragement, as might dispose them to send some of the wisest of them to attend his Majesty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to make them his Instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate desires, when they should discern, that they might have more protection and security from the King, than from any other Power that would assume the Government. The Letter was as followeth.

"May

"May it please your Majesty,

"TIME, the great discoverer of all things, has at last un-^{The Letter}
 "mask'd the disguised designs of this Myfterious Age, and ^{to the King}
 "made that obvious to the dull sense of Fools, which was be-^{fore sent with the}
 "fore visible enough to the quick-sighted prudence of Wise ^{Address.}
 "Men, viz. that Liberty, Religion, and Reformation, the
 "wonted Engines of Politicians, are but deceitful baits, by
 "which the easily deluded Multitude are tempted to a greedy
 "pursuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of these
 "Fools, I must confess my self to have been one; who have
 "nothing more now to boast of, but only that, as I was not
 "the first was cheated, so I was not the last was undeceiv'd;
 "having long since, by peeping a little (now and then, as I
 "had opportunity) under the Vizard of the Impostor, got
 "such glimpses, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face,
 "conceal'd under the painted pretences of Sanctity, as made
 "me conclude, that the Series of Affairs, and the revolution
 "of a few years, would convince this blinded Generation of
 "their Errors; and make them affrightedly to start from Him,
 "as a prodigious piece of deformity, whom they adored and
 "reverenced as the beautiful Image of a Deity.

"NOR did this my expectation fail me: God, who glo-
 "ries in no Attribute more than to be acknowledged the
 "Searcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the
 "bold Affronts of this audacious Hypocrite; but, to the
 "astonishment and confusion of all his Idolatrous worshippers,
 "has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deep-laid Counsels,
 "lighted such a Candle into the dark Dungeon of his Soul,
 "that there is none so blind who does not plainly read Treachery,
 "Tyranny, Perfidiousness, Dissimulation, Atheism,
 "Hypocrisy, and all manner of Villany, written in large Characters
 "on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who
 "dares open his mouth in justification of him, for fear of in-
 "curring the deserv'd Character of being a professed Advocate
 "for all wickedness, and a sworn Enemy to all Virtue.

"THIS was no sooner brought forth, but presently I conceiv'd
 "hopes of being able, in a short time, to put in practice those
 "thoughts of Loyalty to your Majesty, which had long had
 "entertainment in my breast, but till now were forced to seek
 "concealment under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of the
 "Times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to these designs,
 "was happily administer'd by the following occasion.

"GREAT was the rage, and just the indignation of the
 "People, when they first found the Authority of their Parliament
 "swallow'd up in the new Name of a Protector;
 "greater

"greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they
 "observ'd that, under the silent, modest, and flattering Title
 "of this Protector, was secretly assumed a Power more ab-
 "solute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pre-
 "tended to by any King. The pulpits streightways found
 "with Declamations, the Streets are fill'd with Pasquils and
 "Libels, every one expresses a detestation of this Innovation
 "by publick Investives, and all the Nation, with one accord,
 "seems at once to be inspired with one and the same resolu-
 "tion of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that Liberty, by
 "Armes and Force, which was Treacherously stoln from them
 "by Deceit and Fraud.

"WHEN they had for a while exercised themselves in in-
 "multuary discourses (the first effects of Popular discontents)
 "at length they begin to contrive by what means to free
 "themselves from the yoke that is upon them. In order
 "hercunto, severall of the chiefeft of the Malecontents enter
 "into consultations amongst themselves ; to which they were
 "pleased to invite and admit Me. Being taken into their
 "Councils, and made privy to their Debates, I thought it
 "my work to acquaint my self fully with the tempera-
 "inclinations, dispositions , and principles of them ; which
 "(though all meeting and concentrating in an irreconcil-
 "able Hatred and Animosity against the Usurper) I find so
 "various in their ends, and so contrary in the means condu-
 "cing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the di-
 "stinction of different Parties. Some, drunk with Enthusi-
 "asmes, and besotted with Phanatick notions, do allow of
 "none to have a share in Government besides the Saints ; and
 "these are called *Christian Royalists*, or *Fifth-Monarchy-Men* ;
 "others violently opposing This, as destructive to the Liber-
 "ty of the Free-born People, strongly contend to have the
 "Nation govern'd by a continual Succession of Parliaments,
 "consisting of equal Representatives ; and these style them-
 "selves *Common-Wealths-Men*. A third Party there is, who
 "finding, by the observation of these times, that Parliaments
 "are better Physick than food, seem to incline most to Mo-
 "narchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free the Peo-
 "ple from the fear of Tyranny ; and these are contented to
 "suffer under the opprobrious Name of *Levelers* ; to these
 "did I particularly apply myself ; and after some few days
 "conference with them in private by themselves apart, I was
 "so happy in my endeavours, as to prevail with some of them
 "to lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather
 "upon passion than judgement, and return, as their duty en-
 "gaged them, to their obedience to your Majesty. Having
 "proceeded thus far, and gain'd as many of the chief of them
 "whom

"whom I knew to be Leaders of the rest, as could safely
 "be intrusted with a business of this nature (the success where-
 "of does principally depend upon the secret management of
 "it) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to
 "confirm and establish them, as well as I could, in their in-
 "stant Allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble Ad-
 "dress unto your Majesty, that they might not know how to
 "make either a safe or honourable Retreat.

"I must leave it to the Ingenuity of this worthy Gentle-
 "man, by whose hands it is conveyed, to make answer to
 "any such objections as may perhaps be made by your Ma-
 "jesty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I
 "would put your Majesty in mind of, that they are but young
 "Profelytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest, being urged
 "at first too violently, they should resist the more refracto-
 "rily.

"As to the Quality of the Persons, I cannot say they are
 "either of great Families, or great Estates. But this I am con-
 "fident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the
 "misfortune of the times, I will not determine, they are such
 "who may be more serviceable to your Majesty in this con-
 "juncture, than those whose Names swell much bigger
 "than theirs with the Addition of great Titles. I durst not
 "undertake to persuade your Majesty to any thing, being
 "ignorant by what Maxims your Councils are govern'd; but
 "this I shall crave leave to say, that I have often observ'd,
 "that a desperate game at Chess has been recover'd after the
 "loss of the Nobility, only by playing the Pawns well; and
 "that the Subscribers may not be of the same use to your Ma-
 "jesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, especially at such
 "a time as this, when there is scarce any thing but Pawns
 "left upon the board, and those few others that are left, may
 "justly be complain'd of in the words of *Tacitus, presentia &*
intra, quàm vetera, & periculosa maluit omnes.

"I have many things more to offer unto your Majesty, but
 "fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I shall de-
 "fer the mention of them at present; intending, as soon as I
 "hear how your Majesty resents this Overture, to wait upon
 "your Majesty in Person, and then to communicate that *viva*
 "*voca*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compass of
 "an Address of this nature. In the mean time, if our Ser-
 "vices shall be judged useful to your Majesty, I shall humbly
 "desire some speedy course may be taken for the Advance of
 "2000 pound, as well for the answering the expectation of
 "those whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of
 "several other necessary expences, which do, and will every
 "day inevitably come upon us in the prosecution of our design.

“WHAT more is expedient to be done by your Majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those Gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may be, brought over to the assistance of your Majesty’s Cause and Interest, I shall commit to the care of this honourable Person, who being no stranger to the complection, and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your Majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under the strongest obligations to your Majesty’s Service.

“FOR my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your Majesty a small Essay of my Zeal for, and absolute devotion to your Majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

“May it please your Majesty, &c.

THE King believ’d that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore return’d the general Answer that is mention’d before; and “that he would be willing to confer with some Persons of that Party, trusted by the rest, if they would come over to him; his Majesty being then at *Bruges*: upon which that young Gentleman came over thither to him, and remain’d some days there conceal’d. He was a Person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of Wit, readiness and volubility of Tongue, but an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the University of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the Religion, or the Government of the precedent time, and his Father having been engaged from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a Soldier in *Cromwell’s* Life Guard of Horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a Republick. But when that Mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with *Syndercome*. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that Party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the Wiser Men had amongst them. He return’d into *England* very well satisfied with the King; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that Party, than by their encreasing the faction and animosity against *Cromwell*: for it was manifest they expected a good Sum of present Money from the King; which could not be in his power to supply.

WHILST

WHILST these things were transacting, the King found every day, that the *Spaniards* so much despaired of his Cause, that they had no mind to give him any Assistance with which he might make an attempt upon *England*; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolv'd that he would not, in a Country that was so great a Scene of War, live unactive and unconcern'd: so his Majesty sent to *Don Juan*, "that he would accompany him in the Field the next Campagne, without expecting any Ceremony, or putting him to any trouble." But the *Spaniards* sent him a formal Message, and employed the Earl of *Bristol* to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his Proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his Person. They said, "that they could not answer it to his Catholick Majesty, if they should permit his Majesty, when his two Brothers were already in the Army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own Royal Person; which they positively protested against. And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such Adventures, whilst he remain'd at *Bruges*, which was now become a Frontier by the Neighbourhood of *Mardike*, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of *Tork*, who lay then at *Dunkirk* to make some attempt in the Winter upon that Fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to *Dunkirk*, and was present in that Action, and so near that many were kill'd about him, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was next to him, had his Horse kill'd under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to *Brussels*; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the Spring, and before the Armies were in motion, he left *Bruges*, where he had receiv'd, both from the Bishop and the Magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a *Spaniard*, *Mark Ogniate*, Burgo-Master, who, being born of an *English* Mother, had all imaginable duty for the King, and being a Man of excellent parts, and very dextrous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of *February*, in the year by that Account 1658, he went to *Brussels*, and never after return'd to *Bruges* to reside there.

HIS Majesty was no sooner come thither, but *Don Alonzo* renew'd his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their Agent, one *Sexby*, to confer with him; which his Majesty willingly consented to, presuming that

T t 2

Sexby

The King
sent to Don
Juan "that
he would
accompany
him into
the field;
which is re-
fused.

The King
present in
the attempt
upon Mar-
dike.

The King
leaves Bru-
ges; and re-
moves to
Brussels in
the end of
Feb. 1658.

An account
of Sexby
and his Ne-
gociation.

Sexby might be privy to the Address that had been made to him by the same Party; which he was not, though they that sent the Address well knew of his employment to the *Spaniard*, and had no mind to trust him to the King, at least not so soon. The Man, for an illiterate Person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a Common Soldier of *Cromwell's* Troops, and was afterwards one of those Agitators who were made use of to controule the Parliament; and had so great an Interest in *Cromwell*, that he was frequently his Bed-fellow; a familiarity, he often admitted those to whom he employed in any great Trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the History of *Cromwell's* dissimulations, and would describe his Artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the Army, and very much undervalue the credit, and interest of the King's Party; and made such demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which *Don Alonso* concurr'd so totally, that, when he saw that the King would not be advis'd by him, he sent his Friend *Sexby* into *Spain* to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the King. And there need not be any other Character or description of the Stupidity of that *Spaniard*, than that such a Fellow, with the help of an *Irish* Priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his Master of ten thousand Pistoles; for he receiv'd not less than that in *Flanders*, whatever else he got by his Journey to *Madrid*; which did not use to be of small expence to that Court.

The Marquis
de Leyde
came to
Brussels to
solicite for
supplies for
Dunkirk,
but in vain.

NOTHING that was yet to come, could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning Men, that the first design the *French* Army would undertake, when they should begin their Campaigne, must be the Siege of *Dunkirk*; without taking which, *Mardike* would do them little good: besides, their Contract with *Cromwell* was no Secret; yet the *Spaniards* totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being perswaded by some Intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the *French* would begin the Campaigne with besieging *Cambray*. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis de *Leyde*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, and the best Officer they had, in all respects, came to *Brussels*, having sent several Expresses thither to no purpose to sollicite for supplies. He told them, "that his Intelligence was infallible, that Mar-
"shal *Theranne* was ready to march, and that the *French* King
"himself would be in the Field to countenance the Siege of
" *Dunkirk*, which he could not defend, if he were not sup-
" plied

"plied with Men, Ammunition, and Victual; of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply; They telling him, "that he would not be besieged; "that they were sure the *French* meant to attempt *Cambray*; which they provided the best they could; and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they would relieve him with their Army, and Fight a Battle before he should be in danger. Being able to procure no other Answer, he return'd, and came to take his leave of the King as he went out of the Town, and complain'd very much to his Majesty of their Counsels, and deluding themselves with false Intelligence. He said, "he was going to defend a Town without Men, without Ammunition, and without Victual, against a very strong and Triumphant Army; that, if he could have obtain'd Supplies in any reasonable degree, he should have been able to have entertain'd them some time; but in the condition he was in, he could only lose his Life there; which he was resolv'd to do: And spoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

WITHIN three or four days after his return, the *French* Dunkirk Army appear'd before *Dunkirk*; and then the *Spaniards* believ'd it; and made what hast they could to draw their Army together, which was very much dispersed, so that, before they were upon their march, the *French* had perfected their Circumvallation, and render'd it impossible to put any Succours into the Town. Now they found it necessary indeed to hazard a Battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the *Spaniards* had taken a full view of the posture the Enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who agreed in nothing else, resolv'd how the Army should be ranged; which the Prince of *Condé* dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marshal *Turenne* would do in that case; "and that he would still maintain the Siege, "and give them likewise Battle upon the advantage of the ground; whereas, if they would place their Army near another part of the Line, they should easily have communication with the Town, and compel the *French* to Fight with more equal hazards.

IT might very reasonably be said of the Prince of *Condé* and Marshal *Turenne*, what a good Roman Historian said heretofore of *Jugurtha* and *Marinus*, that "*in isdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis fecere*; They had in the same Armies learned that Discipline, and those Stratagems, which they afterwards practised against each other in Enemy Armies; and it was a wonderful, and a pleasant thing to see

Dunkirk
besieged by
the *French*
Army.

The Prince
of *Condé*'s
Advice to
the *Spaniards*
not
hearken'd to.

and observe in Attacks or in Marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do; as the Prince of *Condé*, when the Armies march'd near, and the *Spaniards* would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "if we do not make great haste to possess such a Pass (which they never thought of) Marshal *Turenne* will take it, though it be much farther from him; and would then, when they consider'd not what he said, advance with his own Troops to possess the place, even when the *French* were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the *Spanish* Army from many distresses. And Marshal *Turenne* had the same caution, and govern'd himself according as the Prince of *Condé* was in the Rere or Van of the Army; and, upon the matter, only consider'd where He was, and order'd his Marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable Instance two years before, when the *Spanish* Army had Besieged *Arras*, and when the Duke of *York* was present with Marshal *Turenne*. The *Spaniards* had made themselves so very strong, that when the *French* Army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to Fight, and that the Town must be lost if they did not force the Line. Marshal *Turenne*, accompanied with the Duke of *York*, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal Officers, spent two or three days in viewing the Line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the Line very frequently, that some of his Company were kill'd within much less than Musquet shot. In the end, he called some of the principal Officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, assault the Line, at a place which he shew'd to them; which the Officers wonder'd at; and said, "it was the strongest part of the Line; and that they had observ'd to him, that the whole Line on the other side was very much weaker; to which the Marshal replied, "you do not know who keeps that Line; We shall do no good there; *Monsieur le Prince* never sleeps, and that is his Post; but I will tell you, what will fall out on the other side; for he had himself march'd in the *Spanish* Army, and very well understood the Customs of it. He told them then, "that it would be very long, before the Soldiers upon the Line, or the adjacent Guard, would believe that the *French* were in earnest, and that they would in truth at that time of day assault them; but would think, that they meant only to give them an Alarm; which they were never warm in receiving: That when the *Spaniards* were convinced that the *French* were in earnest, in which time he should be got near their Line, they would send to the Count of *Fuenfaldunga*, who at that time of day was usually

“ usually asleep, and his Servants would not be perswaded to waken him in a moment : He would then send for his Horse, and ride up to the Line ; which when he saw, he would with some hast repair to the Arch-Duke’s Tent ; who was likewise at his *Sieffe*, and when He was awake, they would consult what was to be done ; by which time, the Marshal said, “ They should have done : And they did enter the Line accordingly, and found by the Prisoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the Siege was raised, the *Spaniards* fled without making any resistance, left their Cannon, Bag and Baggage behind them : only the Prince of *Condé* was in so good order upon the first Alarm, that when he heard of the Confusion they were in, he drew off with his Cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his Men to a place of safety.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advice which the Prince of *Condé* had given, *Don Juan* was positive in his first Resolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, consented ; and drew up his Troops in the place they desired ; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The Country was most inclosed, so that the Horse could not Fight but in small Bodies. The *English* Foot under *Lockhart* Charg’d the *Spanish* Foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them ; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the *Spanish* Horse doing no better than their Foot. Our King’s Foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were Charg’d by the *French* Horse after the *Spanish* Foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the Inclosures, there not being above two hundred taken Prisoners. The Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* Charg’d several times on Horse-back ; and in the end, having gotten some Troops to go with them, Charg’d the *English* (whom, though Enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well) and with great difficulty, and some blows of Musquets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the *French* Army, that the Duke of *York* was taken Prisoner by the *English*, some Men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands : whereupon many of the *French* Officers, and Gentlemen, resolv’d to set him at Liberty, and rode up to the Body of *English*, and looked upon all their Prisoners, and found they were misinform’d ; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him ; so great an affection that Nation own’d to have for his Highness.

THE day being thus lost with a greater Rout and Confusion than loss of Men, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Caracena*, who behaved themselves in their own Persons with

Don Juan
after the loss
of the Battle
retires to
Ipres.

The Marquis
de Leyde
salutes upon
the Enemy;
is repulsed,
and slain.

The Town of
Dunkirk
surrender'd;
and the
French
King deli-
vered it to the
English.

Courage enough, were contented to think better of the Prince of *Conde's* advice, by which they preserv'd the best part of the Army, and retired to *Ipres* and *Furnes*, and the Duke of *Tork* to *Newport*, that they might defend the rest when *Dunkirk* should be taken; which was the present business of *Marshall Turenne*; who found the Marquis de *Leyde* resolv'd to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the Army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the Spanish Army was retired into fastness. The Marquis de *Leyde*, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from *Don Juan*, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his Men, was now resolv'd to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a Party as he could make, he made a desperate Sally upon the Enemy; who, though he disorder'd them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the Town with great loss, after himself had receiv'd a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the Officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he liv'd. The Marquis was a much greater loss than the Town; which the Master of the Field may be always Master of in two Months time at most. But in truth the death of the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise Man, of great Experience, great Wisdom, and great Piety, after his way; inasmuch as he had an intention to have taken Orders in the Church; to which he was most devoted.

THOSE in the Town had fair conditions to march to *St Omers*, that they might not joyn with the Reliques of their Army. The French King being by this time come to the Camp with the Cardinal, enter'd the Town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he deliver'd it into the hands of *Lockhart*, whom *Cromwell* had made Governour of it. Thus the Treaty was perform'd between them; and that King went presently to *Calais*, and from thence sent the Duke of *Croquy* together with *Mancini*, Nephew to the Cardinal, to *London* to visit *Cromwell*; who likewise sent his Son in Law, the Lord *Falconbridge*, to *Calais*, to congratulate with that King for their joyn't prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligation, "never to make Peace without each other's consent."

WHEN *Don Juan* had first remov'd from *Brussels*, and the Army marched into the Field, the King had renew'd his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refus'd with the same positiveness he had been before. His Majesty thereupon resolv'd that he would not stay alone in *Brussels*, whilst all the World was in Action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the Summer Air, and refresh himself during that Season. He was the more confirm'd in
this

this upon the News of the defeat of the Army near *Dunkirk*, and the loss of that place. So he remov'd to a Village call'd *Hochstraten*; where there were very good Houses, capable to have receiv'd a greater Train than belong'd to His Court. Thither the King went about the Month of *August*; the Village lying upon the skirts of the States Dominions in *Brabant*, and within five or six Miles of *Breda*, sometimes he made Journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

THERE a Man might have observ'd the great difference of the condition, which the Subjects in the States Dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their Neighbours of the *Spanish* Territories are acquainted with. *Hochstraten* is an open Village belonging to the Court of that name, and hath enjoy'd very ample Privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest Nobles in the Duchy of *Brabant*. It is pleasantly Seated, many very good Houses, and the Mannor large of Extent, and of great Revenue. But by reason that it is always a Horse-quarter in the Winter Season, who use great licence, it is so poor, that those good Houses have only Walls; so that the People had not Furniture to supply those Rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the King, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appear'd poverty in the faces and looks of the People, good Grounds without any Stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the Houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a Line that is drawn (for a Man may set one Foot in the Dominion that is reserv'd to the King of *Spain*, and the other in that which is assign'd to the *Hollander*) the Houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnish'd within; very good Linen, and some Plate in every House; the People jolly, well clothed, and with looks very well pleas'd; all the Grounds and Land fully stocked with all kind of Cattle, and, as if it were the Land of *Goshen*, the appearance of nothing but wealth, and fertility, encompassed with extreme barrenness, and unconceiveable poverty. And they on the *Holland* side, that lies equally open, and undefended, can see the *Spanish* Troops exercise all Licence upon their poor Neighbours of *Hochstraten*; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into their Quarters to take a Hen, or commit the least Trespass: so strictly the Articles of the Peace are observ'd.

WHILST the King spent his time in this manner, about the middle of *September*, the Duke of *York*, who remain'd still with the Troops at *Newport* to defend that place, as *Don Juan*, and the rest, remain'd about *Furnes* and *Bruges*, sent an Express to the King to let him know, "that the Letters from
" *England*,

The King has notice that Cromwell was dead.

The King returns to Brussels upon it.

Cromwell's Affairs some time before his death.

England, and some Passengers, reported confidently that *Cromwell* was dead; which, there having been no News of his sickness, was not at first easily believ'd. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his Majesty thought fit to give over his Country Life, and return'd again to *Brussels*, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

IT had been observ'd in *England*, that, though from the dissolution of the last Parliament, all things seem'd to succeed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wish, and his Power and Greatness to be better establish'd than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of Mind he had been used to, after he had refused the Crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were Conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his Person than he had used to be. Inasmuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seem'd to be in some disorder, when his Eyes found any stranger in the Room; upon whom they were still fixed. When He intended to go to *Hampton Court*, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the Coach, which way he would go; and he was still hem'd in by his Guards both before and behind; and the Coach in which he went, was always thronged as full as it could be, with his Servants; who were armed; and he seldom return'd the same way he went; and rarely lodged two Nights together in one Chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own Key convey'd him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to Bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and publick, because he had never been accusom'd to those precautions.

Syndercome's design against him a good while before this.

IT is very true, he knew of many Combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believ'd, wish'd the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had discover'd the design of *Syndercome*, who was a very stout Man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected Accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his Examination and Trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more Associates, who were undiscover'd and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemn'd to die, the Fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the Judgement; which made *Cromwell* believe, that a Party in the Army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict

strict charge, "that he should be carefully looked to in the
" Tower, and three or four of the Guard always with him
" day and night.

AT the day appointed for his Execution, those Troops
Cromwell was most confident of, were placed upon the Tower-
Hill, where the Gallows were erected. But when the Guard
call'd *Syndercome* to arise in the morning, they found him
dead in his Bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to *Cromwell*;
for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the ut-
most rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his Con-
federates, he now found himself under the reproach of having
caused him to be poyson'd, as not daring to bring him to
publick Justice: nor could he suppress that Scandal. It ap-
pear'd upon Examination, that the night before, when he was
going to Bed in the presence of his Guard, his Sister came to
take her leave of him; and upon her going away, he put off
his Cloaths, and leaped into his Bed, and said, "this was the
" last Bed he should ever go into. His Body was drawn by a
Horse to the Gallows where he should have been hanged, and
buried under it, with a Stake driven through him, as is usual
in the Case of self Murderers: yet this Accident perplexed
Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particu-
lar discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery
by it, that he himself was more odious in his Army than he
believ'd he had been.

HE seem'd to be much afflicted at the death of his Friend *The death of*
the Earl of *Warwick*; with whom he had a fast Friendship; *the Earl of*
though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. *Warwick,*
And the Heir of that House, who had Married his youngest *and of the*
Daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation *Earl's*
to, or confidence in that Family was at an end; the other *Grandson.*
Branches of it abhorring his Alliance. His Domestic delights
were lessen'd every day: He plainly discover'd that his Son
Falconbridge's Heart was set upon an Interest destructive to his,
and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke
his Peace, was the death of his Daughter *Claypole*; who had *The death*
been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which *of Crom-*
was of a nature the Physicians knew not how to deal with, *well's*
had several Conferences with him, which exceedingly per- *Daughter*
plexed him. Though no body was near enough to hear the *Claypole.*
particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endur'd,
the blood her Father had spilt, made People conclude, that
she had presented his worst Actions to his consideration. And
though he never made the least shew of remorse for any of
those Actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or
her death, affected him wonderfully.

WHAT-

Cromwell
seised on by
an Ague in
August :

He appoints
his Son Ri-
chard his
Successor ;
and expires
Septemb. 3.

Sept. 27 1658.

The terrible
Storm on the
same day.

His Cha-
racter.

WHATEVER it was, about the middle of *August*, he was seised on by a common tertian Ague, from which, he believ'd, a little ease and divertisement at *Hampton Court* would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his Spirits much abated : so that he return'd again to *White-Hall*, when his Physicians began to think him in danger, though the Preachers, who pray'd always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his Service, declared as from God, that he should recover : and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die, till even the time that his Spirits fail'd him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his Son to succeed him, his eldest Son *Richard* ; and so expired upon the third day of *September* 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest Victories. And this now was a day very memorable for the greatest Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great Wrecks at Sea ; and the Tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in *France*, and *Flanders*, where all People trembled at it ; for besides the Wrecks all along the Sea-Coast, many Boats were cast away in the very Rivers ; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that Storm, was universally known.

HE was one of those Men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent* ; whom his very Enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time : For he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of Courage, Industry, and Judgement. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a dexterity in applying them ; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good Family) without Interest or Estate, Alliance or Friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory Tempers, Humours, and Interests into a consistence, that contributed to His designs, and to their own destruction ; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of *Cinna* may very justly be said of Him, *ausum enim, quæ nemo auderet bonus ; perfecisse, quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*. He attempted those things which no good Man durst have ventur'd on ; and achiev'd those in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no Man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly,

wickedly, more in the face and contempt of Religion, and moral Honesty ; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplish'd those designs, without the assistance of a great Spirit, an admirable circumspection, and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

WHEN he appeared first in the Parliament, he seem'd to have a Person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those Talents which use to conciliate the Affections of the Stander by : yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his parts seem'd to be rais'd, as if he had Had conceal'd Faculties, till he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great Man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of Custom.

AFTER he was confirm'd, and invest'd Protector by the humble *Petition and Advice*, he consult'd with very few upon any Action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolv'd upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it ; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolv'd, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority ; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

ONE time, when he had laid some very extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cow*, an eminent Fanatick, and one who had heretofore serv'd him very notably, positively refused to pay his part ; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as an imposition notoriously against the Law, and the Property of the Subject, which all honest Men were bound to defend. *Cromwell* sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of "the old kindness, and Friendship, that "had been between them ; and that of all Men he did not "expect this opposition from Him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the Common-wealth. It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude, and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely govern'd by him ; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature : so this Man remember'd him, how great an Enemy he had express'd himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that "all, who submitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, were "more to blame, and greater Enemies to their Country than "they who had impos'd them ; and that the Tyranny of "Princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and "stupidity of the People. When *Cromwell* saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that he had a Will as stubborn as His, and he would try which of them two should be "Master. Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and

and contempt, he committed the Man to Prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the Term came, he brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the King's Bench, which they then called the *Upper Bench*. *Maynard*, who was of Council with the Prisoner, demanded his Liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the Commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful Authority. The Judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their Sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's Attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, *Maynard* was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his Authority; and the Judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that Licence; when they, with all humility, mention'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, *Cromwell* told them, with terms of contempt, and derision, "their *Magna F*--- should not controule his Actions; which "he knew were for the safety of the Common-wealth. He asked them, "who made them Judges? whether they had any "Authority to sit there, but what He gave them? and if his "Authority were at an end, they knew well enough, what "would become of themselves; and therefore advis'd them "to be more tender of that which could only preserve them; and so dismiss'd them with caution, "that they should not "suffer the Lawyers to prate what it would not become Them "to hear.

THUS he subdued a Spirit that had been often troublesome to the most Sovereign Power, and made *Westminster-Hall* as obedient, and subservient to his Commands, as any of the rest of his Quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the Life of his Jurisdiction, he seem'd to have great reverence for the Law, rarely interposing between Party and Party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation, and haughtiness, with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good Pleasure, and courted his Protection, he us'd great Civility, Generosity, and Bounty.

To reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his Dictates; to awe, and govern those Nations by an Army that was inde voted to him, and with'd his ruin, was an Instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home, was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which fear'd him most, *France*, *Spain*, or the Low Countries, where his Friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their Honour, and their Interest, to his Pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would

would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two Instances. The first is, when those of the Valley of *Lucerne* had unwarily risen in Arms against the Duke of *Savoy*, which gave occasion to the Pope, and the Neighbour Princes of *Italy*, to call and sollicite for their extirpation, and their Prince positively resolv'd upon it, *Cromwell* sent his Agent to the Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any Grace to the *English* Roman Catholicks (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his Ships in the *Mediterranean* " should visit *Crosta Vecchia* ; and that the found of his Cannon " should be heard in *Rome*) that the Duke of *Savoy* thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those Privileges they had formerly enjoy'd, and newly forfeited.

THE other Instance of his Authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the City of *Nismes*, which is one of the fairest in the Province of *Languedoc*, and where those of the Religion do most abound, there was a great Faction at that Season when the Consuls (who are the Chief Magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the Reform'd Religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that Magistracy ; which they of the Roman Religion resolv'd to oppose with all their Power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the Intendant of the Province, who is the supreme Minister in all Civil Affairs throughout the whole Province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of Election came, those of the Religion possessed themselves with many Arm'd Men of the Town-House, where the Election was to be made. The Magistrates sent to know what their meaning was ; to which they answer'd, "they were there to give their Voices for the choice of the " new Consuls, and to be sure that the Election should be " fairly made. The Bishop of the City, the Intendant of the Province, with all the Officers of the Church, and the present Magistrates of the Town, went together in their Robes to be present at the Election, without any suspicion that there would be any Force used. When they came near the Gate of the Town-House, which was shut, and they supposed would be open'd when they came, they within pour'd out a Volly of Musket-shot upon them, by which the Dean of the Church, and two or three of the Magistrates of the Town, were kill'd upon the place, and very many others wounded ; whereof some died shortly after. In this Confusion, the Magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other,

others, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an Express to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there appear'd to be no manner of Combination with those of the Religion in other places of the Province; but that it was an infolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great Numbers, "which were little inferior to those of the Catholics. The Court was glad of the Occasion, and resolv'd that this provocation, in which other places were not involv'd, and which no body could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that City, even to the pulling down their Temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the City; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal Persons, would be a general Mortification to all of the Religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the Army was forthwith order'd to march towards *Nismes*, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the Religion in the Town, were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible Submission, to the Magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular Men, who had no order for what they did. The Magistrates answer'd, "that they were glad they were sensible of their Miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the Subject, till the King's pleasure should be known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed. The others very well knew what the King's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an Express, one *Moulins*, who had liv'd many years in that place, and in *Montpellier*, to *Cromwell* to desire his protection and interposition. The Express made so much hast, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that *Cromwell*, after he had receiv'd the whole Account, bad him "refresh himself after so long a Journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to *Paris* he should find it "dispatch'd; and, that Night, sent away another Messenger to his Embassadour *Lockhart*; who, by the time *Moulins* came thither, had so far prevail'd with the Cardinal, that Orders were sent to stop the Troops, which were upon their March towards *Nismes*; and, within few days after, *Moulins* return'd with a full Pardon, and Amnesty from the King, under the Great Seal of France, so fully confirm'd with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things pass'd as if there had never been any such thing. So that no body can wonder, that his Memory remains still in those parts, and with those People, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever

ever asked of the Cardinal, alledging, "that the People would not be otherwise satisfied; which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complain'd of to those with whom he would be free. One day, he visited Madam Thrense, and when he took his leave of her, She, according to her Custom, besought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himself; "if he advised the King to punish and suppress their Insolence, Cromwell threaten'd him to joyn with the Spaniards; "and if he shew'd any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an Heretick.

To Conclude his Character, Cromwell was not so far a *The Conclusion of his Character:* Man of blood, as to follow *Machiavel's* method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of Government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their Families, who are Friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once propos'd, "that there might be a general "Massacre of all the Royal Party, as the only expedient to "secure the Government, but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his Enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated; and he will be look'd upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem.

2. The second part is devoted to a detailed analysis of the results.

3. The third part is devoted to a discussion of the conclusions.

4. The fourth part is devoted to a discussion of the future work.

5. The fifth part is devoted to a discussion of the results.

6. The sixth part is devoted to a discussion of the conclusions.

7. The seventh part is devoted to a discussion of the future work.

8. The eighth part is devoted to a discussion of the results.

9. The ninth part is devoted to a discussion of the conclusions.

10. The tenth part is devoted to a discussion of the future work.

11. The eleventh part is devoted to a discussion of the results.

12. The twelfth part is devoted to a discussion of the conclusions.

T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K XVI.

Zechar. ii. 4, 5, 6.

Thus saith the Lord my God; Feed the flock of the slaughter.

Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them, say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.

But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his Neighbours hand, and into the hand of his King.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home The bested. and abroad, this Earthquake was attended with king of Ri- no signal Alteration. It was believ'd that chard's Gov- *Lockhart* would be in the head of the Army, and that ernment. *Monk* in Scotland would never submit to be under him. Besides the expectation the King had from the general Affection of the Kingdom, he had fair promises from Men of Interest in it, and of Command in the Army, who profess'd to prepare for such a Conjunction as this; and that the disorder arising from *Cromwell's* death might dispose *Lockhart* to depend upon the best Title, seem'd a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never Monarch, after he had inherited a Crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the Kingdom than had been before.

THE next Morning after the death of *Oliver*, *Richard* his Son is Proclaim'd his Lawful Successor; the Army congratulate their new General, and renew their Vows of fidelity to

U u 4

him;

him; the Navy doth the like; the City appears more unanimous for His Service, than they were for his Father's; and most Counties in *England*, by Addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their now Sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interr'd in the Sepulcher of the Kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His Son inherits all his Greatness, and all his Glory, without the publick hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign Princes addressed their Condolences to him, and desired to renew their Alliance; and nothing was heard in *England* but the voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector: so that the King's condition never appear'd so hopeful, so desperate; for a more favourable Conjunction his Friends could never expect than this, which now seem'd to blast all their hopes, and confirm their utmost despair.

It is probable that this Melancholick prospect might have continued long, if this Child of Fortune could have his Will, and been contented to have enjoy'd his own felicity. But his Council thought it necessary that he should call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all Clouds which might arise. And there seem'd to be the more reason for it, because the last Alliance which *Oliver* had made with the Crown of *Sweden*, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the Spring to send a strong Fleet into the *Sound*, to assist that King against *Denmark*; at least to induce *Denmark*, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector sent out his Writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty seventh day of *January*; till which day, for near five Months, he remain'd as great a Prince as ever his Father had been. He follow'd the Model that was left him; and sent out his Writs to call those as Peers who had constituted the Other House in the former Parliament; and to both Lords and Commons met at the day assign'd.

RICHARD came to the Parliament in the same State that *Oliver* his Father had done; and sent the Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod to the Commons, that they should attend him in the other House; where, first by himself, and then by the Keeper of his Great Seal, *Nathaniel Finney*, he recommended to them the prosecution of the War with *Spain*, and the assistance of the King of *Sweden* in the *Sound*. He had so good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons sign'd an *Engagement* not to alter the present Government. But they were no sooner inclosed within those Walls, than there appear'd the old Republican Spirit, though more wary than

He calls a
Parliament
to meet Jan.
27. 1659.

It meets on
that day.

The business
recommended
to them by
the Protector.

than it had used to be. It began with enquiring into the Accounts, how the Money had been spent, and into the Offices of Excise and Customs, and what was become of all that Revenue. When they were called upon to settle the Act of Recognition, to confirm *Richard*, and his Authority in the State, they would first inform themselves of their own Authority, and how far the Government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assign'd to the other House; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the Government already establish'd, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this Argument they exercised themselves with great Licence, as well upon the Creator of those Peers, and the power of the late Protector, as upon his Creatures the Peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the Quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to. They put the House in mind, "how grievous it had been to the Kingdom, that the Bishops had sat in the House of Peers, because they were look'd upon as so many Votes for the King; which was a reason much stronger against these Persons; who were all the work of the Protector's own hand, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his Interest. They concluded, "that they could not, with good Conscience, and without the guilt of Perjury, ever consent, that That other House should have any part in the Government. "Since they had all taken the Engagement, that there should be no more any House of Peers, and since the Office of Protector had been, and might still continue without it.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this confidence, which disturbed the Method intended to be proceeded in, this violent Party could not prevail, but it was carried by the Major part of the House, "that they would meet, and confer with the other House, as a part of the Parliament, during this present Parliament; and likewise, that such other Persons, as had a right to come to that other House, and had not forfeited it by their breach of Trust (by which they meant those Lords who had been always against the King) "should not be restrain'd from coming thither: yet the Temper of the House of Commons could hardly be judg'd by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condescension to the Royal Party; but more for the countenance of the Presbyterians; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a Republick, was looked upon as favourable to the Protector.

THE stirring these several humours, and the crowdy temper of *Richard*, raised another Spirit in the Army. A new Council of Officers met together by their own Authority, and admitted *Lambert*, though no Member of the Army, to consult

Differences rise in the House of Commons about the accounts of Money, and about the other House, &c.

It was expected, that the other House should be dissolved,

A new Council of Officers met, who consult about the Government.

Their Address to Richard Apr. 6. 1659.

luk with them; they neither liked Protector, nor Parliament, but consulted what Government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to *Richard*, who had many of his nearest Friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an Address to him; in which they complain'd of, "the great Arrears of pay that were due to the Army, by which they were in great Streights: That they, who had borne the brunt of the War, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid aside: That the Good Old Cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by Malignants and disaffected Persons; who grew every day more insolent, and their Numbers encreased, by the resort out of *Flanders*, and other places; and they had several secret meetings in the City of *London*: That the Names of all those who had sate upon the late King as his Judges, were lately Printed, and scatter'd abroad, as if they were design'd to destruction; and that many Suits were commenced at Common Law against honest Men, for what they had transacted in the War as Soldiers: That those famous Acts, which had been performed in the long Parliament, and by the late Protector, were censured, rail'd at, and vilified. By all which, they said, "it was very manifest, that the good old Cause was declined; which they were resolv'd to assert. And therefore they besought his Highness to represent those their Complaints to the Parliament, and to require proper and speedy Remedies.

The City Militia second them.

THIS Address was deliver'd from the Army by *Flintwood* to *Richard*, on *April 6th 1659*; which was no sooner known, than *Tickburn*, and *Irton*, two Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of that Militia, drew up likewise a Remonstrance, and sent it to the Council of Officers; in which they declared their Resolutions with the Army to stick to the good old Cause, and that they were resolv'd to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for what they call'd the Nation's good.

Votes of the Parliament upon it.

THE Parliament was quickly alarm'd with these Cabals of the Army, and the City; which *Richard* was as much terrified with, as They. In order to the suppression thereof, the Parliament Voted, "that there should be no meeting, or general Council of Officers, without the Protector's Consent, "and by his Order: and, that no Person should have Commands by Sea or Land, in either of the three Nations, who did not immediately subscribe, that he would not disturb the free meeting of Parliaments, or of any Members in either House of Parliament; nor obstruct their freedom in Debates and Counsels. These Votes, or to this effect, were sent

sent to *Richard*, and by him presently to *Wallingford House*, where the Council of Officers then sat.

THESE Officers were Men who resolv'd to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner receiv'd these Votes, but they sent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to *Richard* (the first had Married his Sister; the other was his Uncle; both raised by *Cromwell*.) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. They were two upon whose Affection, in regard of the nearness of their Alliance, and their obligation to, and dependence upon his Father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any Men's in the Nation. *Fleetwood* used no Arguments but of Conscience, "to prevent the Nation's being engaged in blood; which, he said, "would inevitably fall out, if the Parliament were not presently dissolv'd. *Desborough* a Fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was impossible for him to keep both the Parliament, and the Army, his Friends; wished him, "to choose which he would prefer: if he dissolv'd the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his Devotion; if he refused that, he believed the Army would quickly pull him out of *White-Hall*.

THE poor Man had not Spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without Friends to Counsel him, if he had been capable to receive Counsel. Besides many Members of the Parliament, of Courage and Interest, who repair'd to him with assurance, "that the Parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the Ring-leaders of this Seditious Crew, if he would adhere to the Parliament; but if he were prevail'd upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a Friend; and they who had compell'd him to do so imprudent an Action, would contemn him when he had done it: Some Officers of the Army likewise, of equal Courage and Interest with any of the rest, perswaded him "to reject the desire of those who call'd themselves the Council of the Army, and to think of punishing their presumption. *Ingham*, *Whaley*, and *Goffe*, three Colonels of the Army, and the two former, Men of signal Courage, offer'd to stand by him; and one of them offer'd to kill *Lambert* (whom they looked upon as the Author of this Conspiracy) if he would give him a Warrant to that purpose.

RICHARD continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, *Desborough* and his Companions prevail'd with him, before they parted, to sign a Commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to *Nathaniel Fiennes*, his Keeper of the Seal, to dissolve the Parliament the next morning; of which the Parliament having notice, they

refus'd not to go up. So that when *Speares* sent forthunto the other House, the Commons that the doers of their House, and would not suffer the Gentlemen Usher of the Black-rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of *April*, imagining that they should by that time convert the Protector from destroying himself. But the power-Ordinance was enforced by the Council of Officers, thereby instantly caused a Proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be dissolved. And from that instant no body resorted to him, nor was the Name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the Council of Officers appointing Guards to attend at *Whitehall*, which kept out these Members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have enter'd into the House upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the Son suffer'd himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the Greatness, and Power, which the Father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful Courage, Industry, and Resolution.

WHERE the Council of Officers had, with this strange Show-off, having no Authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a Superior; or, as the Phrase then was, removed the *single Person*, they knew that they could not long hold the Government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove *Regality, Wharfe, Goffe*, and those other Officers, who had dissuaded *Richard* from submitting to their Advice, from having any Command in the Army; which they therefore did; and replaced *Lambert*, and all the rest who had been cashier'd by *Oliver*, into their own Charges again. So that the Army was become Republican to their wish; and that the Government might return to be purely such, they published a Declaration upon the sixth of *May*, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old Cause, and accusing themselves, "for having been instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ill, the Common-wealth had sustain'd, had proceeded, and the violation whereof they were refus'd to pursue for the future; they remember'd, "that the long Parliament, consisting of those Members, who had continued to sit till the twentieth of *April* 1653 (which was the day that *Cromwell*, with the assistance of these very Officers, had pull'd them out of the House, and dismiss'd them) "had been eminent Assistors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work. They said, "that he desires of many good People concurring with them, they did, by that Declaration, according to their duty, invite those Members to return to the discharge of their Trust; as they had done before that day; and promised, "that they

He issues out a Proclamation to that purpose, whereupon this Protectorship was at an end.

*The Council of Officers restore Lambert, &c. to the Army, and remove many of *Cromwell's* Friends. They issue a Declaration to restore the long Parliament, May 6*

"they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost Assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety: "for the settling and securing the Peace and Quiet of the Common-wealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity. And this Declaration, within very few days, they sent down with what they call'd *The humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contain'd several advices, or rather positive directions how they were to Govern.

THE restoring the Rump-Parliament was the only way in which they could most agree; though it was not desirable to what some of them desired: They well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more Rebels to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving Members of that Parliament would pretend a Title to sit there: And therefore, they did not only carefully limit the Convention to such Members who had continued to sit from *January 1648 to April 1653*; but caus'd a Guard likewise to attend to hinder, and keep the other Members from entering into the House. When *Levett*, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of those old Members specified in the Declaration, took their places in the House, and some of the old excluded Members likewise got in, and enter'd into Debate with them upon the matters proposed, the House was adjourn'd till the next day: And then having this resolution, by appointing Guards to the Passages, who well knew all the Members, to inform the Guards, who were, and who were not to go into the House. By this means that Cabal only was suffer'd to enter which had first form'd the Common-wealth, and foster'd it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the Government into these Men's hands again, seem'd to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

It is most, for the better observation, and distinction of the several Changes in the Government, call this Congregation of Men, who were now repossess'd of it; by the Style they call'd themselves, the Parliament; how far sower they were from being one. They resolv'd in the first place to vindicate, and establish their own Authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a Protector, or the Name of a Protector in being, and residing in *White-Hall*. They appointed therefore a Committee to go to *Richard Cromwell*, and that he might have hope they would be his good Masters, first to enquire into the State of his Debts, and then to demand of him, whether He acquiesc'd in the present Government? He, already humbled to that poverty of Spirit they could wish, gave the Committee a paper, "in which, " he

Some of the Members Excluded from the House with them, but were suffer'd again.

The Parliament sent to Richard to know whether he acquiesc'd, and submitted to their Authority.

"he said, was contain'd the State of his Debts, and how contracted; which amounted to twenty nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other Question, his Answer was likewise in writing; "that He trusted, his carriage and behaviour had manifested his Acquiescence in the Will and good Pleasure of God; and that he loved and valued the Peace of the Commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring "by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be "taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as "should bear the same Witnesses; he having, he hoped, in "some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the "hand of God, than be unquiet under it: That, as to the late "Providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the "particular Engagemēt that lay upon him, he could not be "active in making a Change in the Government of the Nation; yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely "acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, "as with other Men he might expect Protection from the "present Government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his "power, that all in whom he had Interest should do the "same.

THIS satisfied them as to *Richard*; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory Spirit in his Brother *Henry*, who was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and looked upon as a Man of another Air and Temper. He had in his Exercise of that Government, by the frankness of his Humour, and a general Civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, render'd himself Gracious and Popular to all sorts of People, and might have been able to have made some Corrections with the Parliament. But as soon as he receiv'd an Order from them to attend them in Person, he thought not fit to be Wiser than his elder Brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his Commission at their Feet; which they accepted, and put the Government of that Kingdom into the hands of *Ludlow*, and four other Commissioners.

It may not prove ingrateful to the Reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable *Richard*; though it happen'd long afterwards; because there will be scarce again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this Relation. Shortly after the King's Return, and the manifest joy that possess'd the whole Kingdom thereupon, this poor Creature found it necessary to Transport himself into *France*, more for fear of his Depts than of the King; who thought it not necessary

Henry
Cromwell
likewise sub-
mits and
resigns his
Commission
of Lieutenant
of Ire-
land.
The Parlia-
ment makes
Ludlow,
and four o-
ther Commis-
sioners, Go-
vernours of
Ireland.

cessary to enquire after a Man so long forgotten. After he had lay'd some years in *Paris* untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a War between *England* and *France*, to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be Neutral to either Party; and pitched upon *Geneva*. Making his way thither by *Bourdeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he passed through *Perpignan*, a very pleasant Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who hath a fair Palace there, and, being then Governour of *Languedoc*, made his Residence in it.

In this place *Richard* made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the Situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a Person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's, and of His Party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all Strangers who came to that Town, used to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*, the Governour of the Province; who expected it, and always treated Strangers, and particularly the *English*, with much Civility: That he need not be known, but that he himself would first go to the Prince and inform him, that another *English* Gentleman was passing through that Town towards *Italy*, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hands. The Prince receiv'd him with great Civility and Grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, began to discourse of the Affairs of *England*, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answer'd briefly, according to the truth. "Well, said the Prince, "*Oliver*, though he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin*, *Pakron*, was surely the basest Fellow alive; What is become of that Fool? "How was it possible he could be such a Sor? He answer'd, "that he was betray'd by those whom he most trusted, and "who had been most obliged by his Father; so being weary of his Visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that He was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mention'd so kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believ'd to be a Man not very glad of the King's Restoration.

Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them.

So days the Navy.

They continued Lockhart's Embassy in France. They find Embassadors to mediate Peace between the two Northern Crowns.

They pass an Act of Indemnity to the Army.

MONK from Scotland presented his Obedience to the Parliament, and the assurance of the Fidelity of the Army under his Command, to all their determinations. The Navy congratulated their Return to the Sovereign Power, and tender'd their Submission. The Embassadors who were in the Town, quickly receiv'd new Credentials, and then had Audience from them, as their good Allies, making all the Professions to them, which they had formerly done to *Oliver* and *Richards*. The Parliament continued *Lockhart* as their Embassador in *France*, as a Man who could best cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the Intrigues of that Court. They sent Embassadors to the *Spaniards*, to mediate a Peace between those two Crowns, being resolv'd to decline all Occasions of expence abroad, that they might the better settle their Government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the War with *Spain*, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their Honour. That they might thoroughly unite their Friends of the Army to them, they pass'd an Act of Indemnity to pardon all their former Transgressions, and Tergiversations, which had been the cause of the Parliament's former dissolution, and of all the Mischief which had follow'd.

They appoint all Commissioners Military to be sign'd by the Speaker.

NOW their appear'd as great a Calm as ever, and their Government well settled, to the general content of the People of their Party, who testified the same by their Acclamations, and likewise by particular Addresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more Affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a single Person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhor'd. And to make That impossible, as they thought, they appointed "the Speaker to execute the Office of General, in such manner as they should direct; and that all Commissions should be granted by him, and sealed with their own Seal; all the Seals used by the *Cromwells* being broken. And accordingly all the Officers of the Army, and Navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) deliver'd up their Commissions, and took new Ones in the form that was prescribed; So that now they saw not how their Empire could be shaken.

BUT these Men had not sat long in their old places, when they call'd to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches, and the contempt they underwent from all kind of People; but above all, the scorn and derision they suffer'd from the King's Party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in Power and Authority with themselves. And though the smart they felt from others, vexed

vexed and anger'd them as much, yet they were content to
 suspend their revenge towards Them, that they might with
 less controule exercise their Tyranny over the poor broken
 Cavaliers. So they made a protest Order, "to banish all
 " who had ever manifested any Affection to the King, or his
 " Father, twenty Miles from *London*; and revived all those
 Orders they had formerly made, and which *Cromwell* had
 abolish'd or forbore to execute; by which many Persons
 were committed to Prisons for offences they thought had
 been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings
 awakn'd those of another Class, to apprehensions of what
 They might be made liable to. The Soldiers were very merry
 at their new General; and thought it necessary he should
 march with them upon the next Adventure; and the Officers
 thought they had deserv'd more than an Act of Indemnity,
 for restoring them to such a Sovereignty. In a word, as the
 Parliament remember'd how They had been us'd, so all other
 People remember'd how they had us'd them, and could
 not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those
 whom, for above four years together, they had derided and
 condemn'd:

THIS universal temper rais'd the Spirit again of the King's
 Friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore
 serv'd the Parliament, and been afterwards dissol'd both by
Cromwell, and the Rump Parliament, very desirous to enter
 into Amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with
 them towards the King's Reestablishment. Those Members
 of the long Parliament, who, after the Treaty of the Isle of
Wight, were by violence kept from the House, took it in great
 indignation, that They, upon whom the said violence was
 practis'd afterwards, which they had still countenanced upon
 them, should not restore them being now restored themselves,
 and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new
 Government; to which they were the more encouraged by
 the common discourse of the Soldiers; who declared, "that,
 " if there were any commotion in the Kingdom, they would
 " go no further to suppress it, than *Leinthal* should lead them.

Mr MORDAUNT, who had so lately his head upon the
 Block, was more active than any Man; and was so well trust-
 ed by Men of all conditions, upon the Courage of his former
 behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from
 very good Men in most Quarters of the Kingdom, "that if
 " the King would assign them a day, and promise to come to
 " them after they were imbodyed, they would not fail to ap-
 " pear at the day. Whereupon, Mr *Mordaunt* ventur'd him-
 self to come in disguise to the King to *Brussels*, to give him
 a clear Account how his business stood, and what probability
 there

*They banish
 all Cavaliers
 20 miles
 from Lon-
 don.*

*Party begins
 to move.*

*Mr Mor-
 daunt comes
 to Brussels
 to acquaint
 the King
 with the pro-
 parations.*

there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the King most relied, to encourage other Men, and to desire that his Majesty would, by Him, require them to concur with the rest. It appear'd, by the Account he gave, that there were very few Counties in *England*, where there was not a form'd Undertaking by the most powerful Men of that County, to possess themselves of some considerable place in it; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own Person, than he yet had Had, or than he was like to have, if he suffer'd those who were now in the Government, to be settled in it.

THAT which was best digested, and, in respect of the Undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of *Lynne*, a Maritime Town, of great importance in respect of the Situation, and likewise of the good Affection of the Gentlemen of the Parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with the consent and Approbation of *St Horatio Townsend*: who, being a Gentleman of the greatest Interest, and Credit, in that large County of *Norfolk*, was able to bring in a good Body of Men to possess it. The former had serv'd the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under Age till long after the end of the War, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy Principles, and of a noble Fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow Money; and laid it out to provide Armes and Ammunition; and all the King's Friends in those parts, were ready to obey those Persons in whatsoever they undertook.

ANOTHER Design, which was look'd upon as ripe too, was the surprisal of *Glocester*, a Town very advantageously Situated upon the River of *Suvern*, that would have great influence upon *Bristol* and *Worcester*; both which, Persons of the best Interest undertook to secure, as soon as *Glocester* should be possessed; which Major General *Massey*, who had been formerly Governour thereof, and defended it too well against the King, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the Town incognito, and convers'd with his Friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places; till the day should be appointed for the Execution of it; of all which he sent the King an Account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no Garrison in either of the places.

THE Lord *Newport*, *Littleton*, and other Gentlemen of *Shropshire*, were ready at the same time to secure *Shrewsbury*; and for the making that Communication perfect, *St George Booth*,

*A design of surpris-
ing Lynne by
the Lord
Willough-
by of Par-
ham and St
Horatio
Townsend.*

*And a de-
sign upon
Glocester
by Massey.*

*The Gentle-
men of
Shropshire
ready.*

Booth, a Person of one of the best Fortunes and Interest in *St. G. Booth*
Cheshire, and, for the Memory of his Grandfather, of absolute ^{undertakes}
power with the Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of *Chester*.
And *St. Thomas Middleton*, who ^{St. Thomas}
had likewise serv'd the Parliament, and was one of the best ^{Middleton}
Fortune and Interest in *North Wales*, was ready to join with ^{to join with}
St. George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the
King's Party in those Counties. In the West, *Arundel*, *Pol-*
lard, *Greenwil*, *Trelawny*, and the rest of the King's Friends ^{In the West,}
in *Cornwall*, and *Devonshire*, hoped to possess *Plymouth*, but ^{designs upon}
were sure of *Exeter*. Other Undertakings there were in the ^{Plymouth}
North, by Men very ready to venture all they had. ^{and Exeter.}

WHEN the King receiv'd this Account in gross from a Per-
son so well instructed, whereof he had by retail receiv'd much
from the Persons concern'd (for it was another circumstance
of the looseness of the present Government, that Messengers
went forward and backward with all security) and likewise
found by *Mr. Mondavus*, that all things were now gone so far
that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution
was general, "that, though any discovery should be made, and
any Persons imprison'd, the rest would proceed as soon as the
day should be appointed by the King, his Majesty resolv'd
that he would adventure his own Person, and would be
ready *incognito* at *Calais* upon such a day of the Month; and
that his Brother the Duke of *York* should be likewise there, or
very near, to the end that from thence, upon the Intelligence
of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed,
they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other
to another.

THERE happen'd at this time the discovery of a vile ^{A discovery}
Treachery which had done the King's Affairs much harm; and ^{of the Treach-}
had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. ^{ery of St}
From the death of *Oliver*, some of those who were in the se- ^{Richard}
crettest part of his Affairs, discern'd evidently, that their new ^{Willis,}
Protector would never be able to bear the burthen; and so
thought how they might do such service to the King, as might
merit from him. One who had a part in the Office of Se-
crecy, *Mr. Moreland*, sent an Express to the King, to inform
him of many particulars of Moment, and to give him some
advice, what his Majesty was to do; which was reasonable
and prudent to be done. He sent him word what Persons
might be induc'd to serve him, and what way he was to take
to induce them to it, and what other Persons would never do
it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer
of his Service to his Majesty, and constantly to advertise him
of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an in-
stance of his fidelity, and his usefulness, he advertised the
King

King of a Person who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had receiv'd a large Pension from *Cromwell*, and that he continually gave *Them* Intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was with so great circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that in his contract, he had promis'd to make such discoveries, as should prevent any danger to the State; but that he would never endanger any Man's life, nor be produced to give in Evidence against any. and that this very Person had discover'd the *Marquis of Ormond's* being in *London* the last year, "so *Cromwell*; but could not be induced to discover where his Lodging was; only undertook his Journey should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly return; and then they might take him if they could; to which he would not consent. To conclude, his Majesty was desired to trust this Man no more, and to give his Friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King at first believes it not.

The Character of the Person accused.

THE King, and They who were most trusted by him in his secret Transactions, believ'd not this information; but concluded that it was contriv'd to amuse him, and to distract all his Affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The Gentleman accused, was *Sr Richard Wallis*; who had from the beginning to the end of the War, except at *Stuart*, given testimony of his Duty and Allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a Gentleman, and was very well bred; and of every good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good Officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the King had profess'd to have any doubt of his honesty, his Friends would have thought he had receiv'd ill intimation without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the *Marquis of Ormond*, who had Communicated more with him, than with any Man in *England*, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations, and advices, that were sent by the Person who accus'd him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majesty's Service; and the Offices that Gentleman offer'd to perform for the future, were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This Intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting Money; for the present condition of him who sent it, was so good, that he expected no reward, till the King should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the Errand, was likewise a Gentleman, who did not look for the Charges of his Journey; and how could it have been known to *Cromwell*, that This Person had been trusted by the *Marquis of Ormond*, if he had not discover'd it himself?

In this perplexity, his Majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the Gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had receiv'd; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a Case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the infidelity of that Gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from him, but the Evidence of his hand-writing; which was well known. This Messenger he sooner return'd to London, but another was dispatch'd with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before inform'd, that there remain'd no more room to doubt. A great Number of his Letters were sent, whereof the Character was well known; and the Intelligence communicated, was of such things as were known to very few besides that Person himself.

The 'accuser' clearly proves the thing by Letters &c.

ONE thing was observ'd throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any Man who was of the King's Party, and had been always so secured. But what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian Party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst these, he gave information of *Maffey's* design upon *Glocester*, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's Party, it was, chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little they ever, and resolv'd to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprison'd in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy, or treachery in the King's Councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the Person of the King.

It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to Communicate this Treachery to his Friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a Person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that Service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr *Mordaunt* came to *Brussels*, and inform'd his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his Friends were in, which are mention'd before; and amongst the other Orders he desired, one was, that some Message might be sent to that knot of Men (whereof the accused Person was one) "who, he said, were principally trusted by his Majesty, and "were all Men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that "others were more discouraged by their coldness: and therefore wished, "that they might be quicken'd, and required to "concur with the most forward. Hereupon the King asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming *St Richard Withlis*, Mr *Mordaunt* answer'd, "it was of Him they complain'd

"principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the
 "wariness in the rest; who looked upon him not only as an
 "excellent Officer, but as a prudent and discreet Man; and
 "therefore, for the most part, all debates were referr'd to him;
 "and he was so much given to objections, and to raising dif-
 "ficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most men
 "had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him. The
 King asked him, "whether he had any suspicion of his want
 "of honesty? the other answer'd, "that he was so far from
 "any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his
 "Friend; by reason of the many disputes and contradictions
 "frequently between them, he would put his life into his hand
 "to morrow.

*The King
 communicates
 the discovery to Mr.
 Mordaunt.*

IT was not thought reasonable, that Mr *Mordaunt* should
 return into *England* with a confidence in this Man; and there-
 fore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way
 by which he knew it, or that he had his very Letters in his
 own hand, which would quickly have discover'd how he came
 by them; and the King charged him "no farther to Com-
 "municate with that Person, and to give his Friends such
 "caution, as might not give a greater disturbance to his Af-
 "fairs, by raising new Factions amongst them, or provoke
 "him to do more mischief, which it was in his power to
 "do. But for all this there was another Expedient found; for
 by the time Mr *Mordaunt* return'd to *London*, the Person who
 gave the King the Advertisement, out of his own wisdom,
 and knowledge of the ill consequence of the trust, caused Pa-
 pers to be posted up in several places, by which all Persons
 were warned not to look upon *Sr Richard Willis* as faithful to
 the King, but as one who betray'd all that he was trusted
 with; which in the general had some effect, though many
 worthy Men still continued that intimacy with him, and com-
 municated with him all they knew to be resolv'd.

*The Disco-
 verer pub-
 lishes Papers
 to warn
 the King's
 Friends of
 this Person.*

IT was towards the end of *June* that Mr *Mordaunt* left
Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general Ren-
 dezvous throughout *England* of all who would declare for the
 King, upon a day named, about the middle of *July*; there
 being Commissions in every County directed to six or seven
 known Men, with Authority to them to choose one to Com-
 mand in Chief in that County, till they should make a con-
 junction with other Forces, who had a superior Commission
 from the King. And those Commissioners had in their hands
 plenty of Commissions under the King's hand, for Regiments
 and Governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to
 receive them; which was the best Model (how liable soever
 to exception) that, in so distracted a State of Affairs, could
 be advised.

THE King, as is said, resolv'd at the day appointed to be at *Calais*; which resolution was kept with so great a secrecy at *Brussels*, that his Majesty had left the Town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in *France*, as in *England*. Therefore, as the King went out in the Morning, so the Duke of *York* went out in the Afternoon, another way: his Highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his Command in the Army. The King went attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol* (who was the Guide, being well acquainted with the Frontiers on both sides) and two or three Servants, all *incognito*, and as Companions; and so they found their way to *Calais*; where they staid. The Duke of *York*, with four or five of his own menial Servants, and the Lord *Langdale*, who desired to attend his Highness, went to *Boulogne*; where he remain'd with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The King goes to Calais.

The Duke of York so Boulogne.

THE Affairs in *England* had no prosperous aspect; every Post brought News of many Persons of Honour and Quality committed to several Prisons, throughout the Kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day it self was accompanied with very unusual Weather at that Season of the Year, being the middle of *July*. The Night before, there had been an excessive Rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high Wind, that the Winter had seldom so great a Storm: so that the Persons over *England*, who were drawing to their appointed Rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross Accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else; others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

The Disappointments of all the designs in England.

IN the beginning of the Night, when *Massey* was going for *Gloster*, a Troop of the Army beset the House where he was, and took him Prisoner; and putting him before one of the Troopers well guarded, they made hast to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous Night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the Troop marching down a very steep Hill, with Woods on both sides, he, either by his Activity, or the connivance of the Soldier, who was upon the same Horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the Horse, and he disintangled himself from the embraces of the other, and being strong and nimble, got into the Woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Massey seized on; but escapes.

Of all the Enterprises for the seizing upon strong places;

X x 2

only

*Sr G. Booth
seised Che-
ster; and Sr
Tho. Mid-
dleton joins
with him.*

only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by *Sr George Booth*; all the rest failed. The Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, and *Sr Horatio Townshend*, and most of their Friends, were apprehended before the day, and made Prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as Men able to do hurt. Only *Sr George Booth*, being a Person of the best Quality and fortune of that County, of those who had never been of the King's party, came into *Chester*, with such Persons as he thought fit to take with him, the Night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the Night, and the next Morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the Rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that City, yet *Sr George* being himself there with a good Troop of Horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into *Chester*, where his Party was strong enough: and *Sr Thomas Middleton*, having kept his Rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their Devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Their Declaration.

THEY then published their Declaration, rather against those who call'd themselves the Parliament, and usurped the Government by the power of the Army, than owning directly the King's Interest. They said, "that, since God had suffer'd the Spirit of division to continue in this Nation; which was left without any settled foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, the Army raised for it's defence mis'd by their perjur'd Officers, and no face of Government remaining, that was lawfully constituted; therefore, They, being sensible of their duty, and utter ruin, if these distractions should continue, had taken Arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliaments, of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property, and of the good People of this Nation groaning under insupportable Taxes: that they cannot despair of the blessing of God, nor of the cheerful concurrence of all good People; and of the undecoiv'd party of the Army; whose Arrears and future advancement they would procure, suffering no imposition or force on any Man's Conscience. But though they mention'd nothing of his Majesty in express terms, they gave all countenance, and reception, and all imaginable assistance to the King's Party; who had directions from the King so concur, and to unite themselves to them.

WHAT disappointments soever there were in other places, the same of this Action of these two Gentlemen, raised the Spirits of all Men. They who were at liberty, renew'd their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places

places of refuge, prepared themselves to march to *Chester*, if *Sr George Booth* did not draw nearer with his Army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made, had been observ'd. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of Persons Imprison'd, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the Work too soon; and though his Numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the Post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

THIS fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarm'd at the News of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their Army, in which they had not Confidence. There were many Officers whom they had much rather trust than *Lambert*; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: So they made choice of Him to march with such Troops as he liked, and with the greatest Expedition, to suppress this new Rebellion, which they saw had many Friends. They had formerly sent for two Regiments out of *Ireland*, which, they knew, were devoted to the Republican Interest, and those they appointed *Lambert* to joyn with. He undertook the Charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his Credit with the Soldiers, who had loved to be under his Command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself esteem'd brave upon any Action; He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolv'd should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the Enemy in Numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that *Sr George Booth* found he was within less than a days march, before he thought he could have been half the way. *Sr George* himself had not been acquainted with the War, and the Officers who were with him, were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to Fight (the natural infirmity of the Nation, which could never endure the view of an Enemy without engaging in a Battle) and instead of retiring into the Town, which they might have defended against a much greater Army than *Lambert* had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short Encounter, Routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the Gates of *Chester* were open'd to *Lambert*; *Sr George Booth* himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent Prisoner to the Tower.

The Parliament sends Lambert against them,

who Routs Sr G. Booth and takes Chester.

LAMBERT prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither *Sr Thomas Middleton* was

*Sr Thomas
Middleton
delivers up
his Castle.*

retired with his Troops to a strong Castle of his own; and he thought neither the Man, nor the Place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one Man to oppose the whole Kingdom, where all other Persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making shew of resistance, *Middleton* accepted such Conditions as he could obtain, and suffer'd his goodly House, for the strength of the Situation, to be pulled down.

THIS Success put an end to all endeavours of force in *England*; and the Army had nothing to do but to make all Persons Prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all Prisons in *England* were fill'd; whilst the Parliament, exalted with their Conquest; consulted what Persons they would Execute, and how they should Confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all Seeds of future Insurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the Nobility being at present in custody. And they resolv'd, if other Evidence was wanting, that the very suspecting them should be sufficient reason to continue them there.

*The King
removes to
the Coast of
Brittayne.*

WHEN the King came to *Calais*, where he receiv'd Accounts every day from *England* of what was Transacted there, as he was much troubled with the News he receiv'd daily of the Imprisonment of his Friends, so he was revived with the Fame of *Sr George Booth's* being possessed of *Chasser*, and of the Conjunction between him and *Middleton*. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of Troops in *Lincoln-shire*, and *Tork-shire*, and some other Counties, stood fair; whereupon the King resolv'd to go himself to some other part of *France*, from whence he might securely Transport himself into those parts of *England*, where, with least hazard, he might joyn himself with the Troops which were in Armes for him, and so went to the Coast of *Brittayne*.

*The Duke of
York con-
fers with
Monsieur
Turenne;
who offers
Assistance.*

THE Duke of *York* remain'd at *Boulogne*, to expect some appearance of Armes in *Kent*, and *Essex*; which was still promised, as soon as the Army should be drawn farther from *London*. In this expectation, his Royal Highness found an opportunity to confer with his old Friend Marshal *Turenne*; who very frankly assign'd him some Troops; and likewise provided Vessels to Transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an Engagement to any probable Enterprize; and this with so much Generosity and Secrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the Borders of *Spain*, should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his Highness was providing for his longed for Expedition, and when the King, after his visiting *St Malo's*, was at *Rechel*, in hope to find

find a conveniency for his Transportation, the fatal News arriv'd in all parts of the defeat of *S^t George Booth*, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the Parliament; which seem'd now to be in as absolute possession of the Government of the three Nations, as ever *Cromwell* had been.

The King receives News of Sir G. Booth's defeat.

STRUCK with this dismal relation, the King and his Brother seem'd to have nothing else to do, but to make what hast they could out of *France*; where it was thought they could not now be found with safety. The Duke of *York* return'd speedily to *Brussels*; but the King, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his Condition, resum'd a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey himself to the Borders of *Spain*, to sollicite more powerful Supplies; the two chief Ministers of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majesty prefer'd any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at *Brussels*, and the dry looks of the *Spaniards* there; who were broken into so many Factions amongst themselves, that the Government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the Marquis of *Carracena*, and *Don Alonso*, had such an influence upon the Councils at *Madrid*, that *Don Juan* receiv'd Orders without delay to return to *Spain*, and to leave the Government in the hands of the Marquis of *Carracena*; which *Don Juan* very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a Pass to go through *France*, he left those Provinces, and made his Journey through that Kingdom towards *Madrid*. He was a Person of a small Stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his Parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgement. And if he had not been restrain'd by his Education, and accusom'd to the pride and forms of a *Spanish* breeding, which likewise dispos'd him to laziness and taking his pleasure, he was capable of any great Employment, and would have discharged it well.

The Duke returns to Brussels. The King resolves so he as the meeting of the two Favourites of the two Crowns.

Don Juan recalls'd to Spain.

I SAID before, the Chief Ministers of the two Crowns were now met on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. For, this year, some thing had happen'd abroad, that, as it was new, might seem to administer new hopes to raise the King's Spirits; however, it was a subject for Men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The War had now continued between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal, and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the Princes of *Europe*; a War wantonly enter'd into, without the least pretence of Right and Justice, to comply with the Pride and Humour of the two Favourites of the Crowns (besides the natural Animosity, which will al-

ways be between the two Nations) who would try the Mastery of their Wit and Invention, at the charge of their Master's Treasure, and the blood of their Subjects, against all the obligations of Leagues and Alliances; a War prosecuted only for War's sake, with all the circumstances of Fire, Sword, and Rapine, to the consumption of Millions of Treasure; and Millions of Lives of noble, worthy, and honest Men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appear'd the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seem'd to be effected, and carried on by the power of a Brother and Sister against each other (for half the time had been spent in the Regency of the Queen of *France*) when they both lov'd, and tender'd each others good, and happiness, as the best Brother and Sister ought to do.

The Queen Mother of France designs to put an end to the war between the two Crowns by a Treaty and Marriage. She advises the Cardinal to concur in it. His Arguments against it.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel War, which the Queen Mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years; and troubled with the infirmities of Age, and the young King being of years ripe to Marry, and the Infanta of *Spain* being in that, and all other respects, the most competent Match for him, which would be the best, and was the only Expedient to procure a Peace, her Majesty resolv'd to employ all her Interest, and Authority, to bring it to pass, and knowing well, all Her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal, she propos'd it to him with all the warmth, and all the concernment such a Subject required; conjuring him "by all the good offices she had perform'd towards him, that he would, not only consent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into such a way of Negotiation, that it might arrive at the issue she desired.

THE Cardinal us'd all the Arguments he could, to dissuade her Majesty from desiring it at this time; "that it would not befor her Majesty's Service; nor was he able to bear the reproach, of being the Instrument of making a Peace, at a time when *Spain* was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer resist the Victorious Armes of *France*; that they could not fail the next Summer of being possessed of *Brussels* it self, and then they should not be long without the rest of the *Spanish* Netherlands; and therefore, at this time, to propose a Peace, which must disappoint them of so sure a Conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the Army, but incense all good *French*-men against him, and against her Majesty her self.

THE Queen was not diverted from her purpose by those Arguments; but propos'd it to the King, and prosecuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate Friends,

Friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her Majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon He yielded; and *Don Antonio Pimentel* from *Madrid*, and *Mon- sieur de Lyonne* from *France*, so Negotiated this last Winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making several Journies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the Winter, it was published, there would be a Treaty between the two Crowns, and that, in the beginning of the Summer of this year 1659, the two Favourites, Cardinal *Maxarin*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* would meet, and make a Treaty both for the Peace, and the Marriage.

But as last He yields to her purpose. The Treaty is transacted first incognito at Paris and Madrid.

THE Cardinal was the sooner induced to this Peace by the unsettled Condition of *England*. The death of *Cromwell*, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the Succession of *Richard*, under the advice of the same Persons who were trusted by his Father, pleased him well. But then the throwing Him out with such circumstances, broke all his Measures. He could not forget that the Parliament, that now govern'd, were the very same Men who had eluded all his Application, appear'd ever more inclined to the *Spanish* Side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believ'd they stood fair towards *France*, taken the *French* Fleet, when it could not but have Reliev'd *Dunkirk*; by which that Town was deliver'd up to the *Spaniards*. He knew well, that *Spain* did, at that Instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a Peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that War, at so vast a Charge both at Sea and Land; but that they would rather foment the Divisions in *France*, and endeavour to unite the Prince of *Condé* and the *Hugonots*; which would make a concussion in that Kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *English*. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he should best provide for the security of *France*, and of Himself, by making a Peace with *Spain*.

The reasons that moved the Cardinal to yield to this Peace.

HOWEVER, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke, or neglect *England*. Therefore he renew'd all the promises, he had formerly made to *Oliver*, again to *Lockhart* (who was the Embassadour now of the Republick) " that he would never make a Peace without the consent, and " inclusion of *England*; and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the Parliament, that he might be at the Treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joynt Interest, from which he would never

His promises to Lockhart touching his adhering to the Parliament.

never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half Sentences, "that though the Treaty was necessary to satisfy the Queen, there were many difficulties in view, that he had little hope of a Peace: and, in truth, many sober Men did not believe the Treaty would ever produce a Peace: for, besides the great Advantages which *France* had gotten, and that it could not be imagined, that *Spain* would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the *French*, which they had then in their hands by Conquest (the usual Effect of Peace being a restitution of all places taken in the War; which *France* would never permit) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any Expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by *de Lyonne* and *Pimentel*, were entirely reserv'd for the Treaty of the two Favourites; both Sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

Two particulars of difficulty in the Treaty refer'd to the personal conference between the Favourites. The first, the business of Portugal.

THE two particulars were those concerning *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Condé*. There could not be a greater Engagement, than *France* had made to *Portugal*, never to desert it, nor to make a Peace without providing that the King should quietly enjoy his Government to him and his Posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the Yoke of *Spain*. And *Spain* was principally induced to buy a Peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of *Portugal*; which they always reckon'd they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other Enemy upon them; and they would never value any Peace, if That were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by *France*.

The second, that of the Prince of Condé.

Fuentarabia, the place of Interview

ON the other hand, the Prince of *Condé* had the King of *Spain's* word and obligation, by the most solemn Treaty that could be enter'd into, that he would never conclude a Peace without including Him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their Honours, Offices, and Estates, but with some farther recompence for the great Service he had done; which was very great indeed: and no body believed, that the Cardinal would ever consent to the Restoration of that Prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this Treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when, and where the two great Favourites should meet. *Fuentarabia*, a place in the *Spanish* Dominions, very near the Borders of *France*, the same place where *Francis* the First was deliver'd, after his long Imprisonment in *Spain*, was agreed upon for their Interview; a little River near that place parting both the Kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it, brought the two Favourites

to meet, without either of their going out of his Master's Dominions.

THE same of this Treaty, as soon as it was agreed to, had yielded variety, and new Matter to the King to consider. Both Crowns had made the contention and War that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that Assistance, which in a case so near relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from that War, they would manifest to the world, that they took the King's case to be their own: so that his Majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this Peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some Embassadour present to sollicite on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit Person, and so many greater to defray the expence of an Embassadour, ^{The King resolves to be present at it,} that his Majesty had at first resolv'd to find himself present in that Treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirm'd in it by a Letter from *St Harry Benet*; by which he was inform'd, "that he speaking with *Don Lewis* about his Journey to *Fuenarabia*, and asking him whither he would give him leave to wait on him thither, *Don Lewis* answer'd, that he should do well to be present; and then asked him, why the King himself would not be there; and two or three days after, he told him, that if the King, with a very light Train, came *incognito* thither, for the place could not permit them to receive him in State, after the great difficulties of the Treaty were over, he would do all he could to induce the Cardinal to concur in what might be of convenience to his Majesty. The King had before resolv'd to have a very little Train with him, suitable to the Treasure he had to defray his Expences, and to make his whole Journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to *France*, through which he was necessarily to make his Journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travail, it might be necessary against any accident to have a Pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the Nature of the Cardinal, than from the sincerity of *Don Lewis de Haro*, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon *Spain* might not irreconcile *France*.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his Majesty had written to the Queen his Mother, to intreat her, "as of
" her

Cardinal
Mazarin
advises a-
gainst it.

her self; to desire the Cardinal's advice, whether it would "not be fit for the King to be present at the Treaty; that "he might send his Majesty such counsel as was proper: if "he thought well of it, she might then propose such Passes, as "should seem reasonable to her. Her Majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the Question of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "that it was "by no means fit; and that it would do the King much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wish'd the Queen "to let the King know, that he should rely upon him to take "care of what concern'd him; which he would not fail to do, "as soon as he discern'd that the Treaty would produce a "Peace. Her Majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent "the King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his Majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself; nor did the Queen imagine that the King would ever think of it without a Pass, and the Cardinal's approbation.

The King be-
gins his jour-
ney thither
with the
Marquis of
Ormond,
and the Earl
of Bristol.

WHEN his Majesty had received this Account from his Mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a Pass. And thus far, in the beginning of this last Spring, before any design of rising in England was ripened, his Majesty had proceeded in his intention of being personally present at the Conference between the two great Ministers. But now, when all his expectations from England for this year were defeated, and when he himself was already advanced far into France, he thought it more necessary than ever to take up his former resolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertised, that the Favourites had been met a considerable time, and were enter'd so far into the Treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a Cessation of Arms, his Majesty attended by the same Company he had then with him, the Marquis of Ormond, Daniel O Neale, and two or three other Servants, together with the Earl of Bristol (though Sr Harry Bennet had before informed the King; that Don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired he would not bring that Earl with him; whose Company yet, in respect of his Language, the King believ'd would be very convenient to him) his Majesty, I say, with this Attendance, began his Journey from that part of Bretagne where he then was still incognito. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his Journey, and really to apprehend being stopp'd if he were discover'd; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of those Roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his Compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure, and divertisement, that such a Journey would admit of

of. To that purpose he appointed the Earl of *Bristol* to be the Guide; who knew most of *France*, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and *Daniel O Neile* to take care that they always faced *He goes by Lyons into* well in their Lodgings; for which Province no Man was fit: *Langue-* Thus they wheeled about by *Lyons* into *Languedoc*, and *doc; and so* were so well pleased with the varieties in the Journey, that they not enough remember'd the end of it, taking their information of the Progress in the Treaty from the Intelligence they met with in the way.

WHEN they came near *Toulouse*, they found that the *French* Court was there, which they purposely design'd to decline: However the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the Marquis of *Ormond* thither, to inform himself of the true State of the Treaty, and to meet his Majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to *Fuentarabia*. The *Marquis* went alone without a Servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to *Toulouse*, he was inform'd from the Common discourse of the Court, that the Treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less *An account of the close of that Treaty in respect of the difficulties concerning Portugal and the Prince of Gendè.* time than was conceiv'd possible, both Parties equally desiring the Marriage, which could never be without the Peace. The Cardinal, who had much the advantage over *Dow Lewis* in all the faculties necessary for a Treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the Arts imaginable to induce *Dow Lewis* to yield both in the point of *Portugal*, and what related to the Prince of *Orléans*, and his Party. He enlarged upon "the desperate state in which *Flanders* was: and that they could possess themselves entirely of it in one Campaign; and therefore it might easily be concluded, that nothing but the Queen's absolute Authority, could in such a conjuncture have disposed the King to a Treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be so ill requited, as to be obliged to break the Treaty, or to oblige the King her Son to consent to what was indispensably against his Honour: that if he should recede from the Interest of *Portugal*, no Prince or State would hereafter enter into Alliance with him: that though they were bound to insist to have *Portugal* included in the Peace, yet he would be contented that a long Truce might be made, and all Acts of Hostility forborne for a good Number of years, which, he said, was necessary for *Spain*, that they might recover the fatigue of the long War they had sustain'd, before they enter'd into a New One: if they would not consent to that, then that *Portugal* should be left out of the Peace, and *Spain* at liberty

"liberty to prosecute the War, and *France* at the same time
 "to assist *Portugal*, which, he said, in respect of the distance,
 "they should never be able to administer in such a proportion
 "as would be able to preserve it from their Conquest; not
 "without insinuation, that, so they might not renounce the
 "promise they had made, they would not be over solicitous
 "to perform it. As to the Prince of *Condé*, that the Catho-
 "lick King was now to look upon *France* as the Dominion
 "of his Son in Law, and to be inherited by his Grandson, and
 "therefore he would consider what peril it might bring to
 "both, if the Prince of *Condé* were restored to his greatness
 "in that Kingdom, who only could disturb the Peace of it,
 "and whose Ambition was so restless, that they could no
 "longer enjoy Peace, than whilst he was not in a condition
 "to interrupt it. The Cardinal told him, in confidence, of
 "several Indignities offer'd by the Prince of *Condé* to the Per-
 "son of the Queen, of which her Brother ought to be very
 "sensible, and which would absolve him from any Engagement
 "he had enter'd into with that Prince; which he would never
 "have done, if his Majesty had been fully inform'd of those
 "rude Transgressions. And therefore he besought *Don Lewis*,
 "that the joy and triumph, which the King and the Queen
 "would be possess'd of by this Peace and Marriage, might not
 "be clouded, and even render'd disconsolate, by their being
 "bound to behold a Man in their presence, who had so often,
 "and with so much damage, and disdain, affronted them
 "both; but that the Peace of *France* might be secured by
 "that Prince's being for ever restrain'd from living in it;
 "which being provided for, whatsoever his Catholick Ma-
 "jesty should require in ready Money, or Pensions, to enable
 "the Prince to live in his just Splendour abroad, should be
 "consented to.

Don Lewis de Haro was a Man of great Temper, of a fal-
 "low Complexion, Hypochondriac, and never weary of hear-
 "ing; thought well of what he was to say; what he wanted
 "in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though he might
 "omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say,
 "he never said any thing of which he had occasion to re-
 "pent. He had a good judgement and understanding, and as
 "he was without any talent of Rhetoric, so he was very well
 "able to defend himself from it. He told the Cardinal, "that
 "he knew well his Master's Affairs needed a Peace with
 "*France*; and that the accomplishing this Marriage, was the
 "only way to attain it: that the Marriage was the best, and
 "the most honourable in Christendom, and ought to be equally
 "desired on both sides; that his Catholick Majesty was sen-
 "sible of his own Age, and the infirmities which attended it;

"and

"and desired nothing more than that, before his death, he
 "might see this Peace and this Marriage finished, and made
 "perfect; and that he was well content to purchase the for-
 "mer at any price, but of his Honour; which was the only
 "thing he prefer'd even before Peace: that for *Portugal*,
 "the groundless Rebellion there was so well known to all the
 "World, that he should not go to his Grave in Peace, if he
 "should do any thing which might look like a countenance,
 "or concession to that Title; that was only founded upon
 "Treason and Rebellion; or if he should omit the doing any
 "thing that might, with God's blessing, of which he could
 "not doubt, reduce that Kingdom to their duty, and his obe-
 "dience: that his resolution was, as soon as this Peace should
 "be concluded, to apply all the Force and all the Treasure
 "of his Dominions, to the Invasion of *Portugal*; which, he
 "hoped, would be sufficient speedily to subdue it; and was
 "a great part of the fruit he promised himself from this Peace;
 "and therefore he would never permit any thing to be con-
 "cluded in it, that might leave *France* at liberty to assist that
 "War: that the Catholick King had done all he could, both
 "by *Don Antonio Pimentel* and *Monsieur de Lyons*, that his
 "most Christian Majesty might know his unalterable resolu-
 "tion in the point of *Portugal*, and with reference to the
 "Prince of *Condé*, before He consented to Treat; and that he
 "would never depart from what he had declared in either:
 "that He had made a Treaty with the Prince of *Condé*, by which
 "he had engaged himself never to desert his Interest, nor
 "to make a Peace without providing for his full restitution,
 "and reparation, and of those who had run his Fortune, and
 "put themselves under his Protection: that the Prince had
 "performed all he had undertaken to do, and had render'd
 "very great Service to his Catholick Majesty; who would
 "not only rather lose *Flanders*, but his Crown likewise, than
 "fail in any particular which he was bound to make good to
 "the Prince: and therefore he desired the Cardinal "to ac-
 "quiesce in both these particulars; from which he should not
 "recede in a tittle; in others, he would not have the same
 "obstinacy.

WHEN the Cardinal found that all his Art, and crafty
 Eloquence were lost upon *Don Lewis's* want of Politeness;
 and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either
 of these important particulars; he resolv'd they should pay
 otherwise for their Idiot Honour, and Punctuality; and after
 he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the
 places they had taken, as well in *Luxembourg*, as *Flanders*, and
 all other Provinces, by which they dismember'd all the *Spanish*
 Dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer Neigh-
 bours

hours to the *Hollanders*, than the other desired they should be, he compell'd them, though a thing very foreign to the Treaty, to deliver the Town of *Juliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*, without the payment of any Money for what they had laid out upon the Fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that Town did belong of right to the Duke of *Newburgh*, as part of the Duchy of *Juliers*, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserv'd by *Spain*, from being possess'd by the *Hollanders* many years before, and by Treaty to remain in their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their Disbursements. After which time, they erected the Citadel there, and much mended the Fortifications. And this dependence, and expectation, had kept that Prince fast to all the *Spanish* Interest in *Germany*: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true Owner, they got the entire Devotion of the Duke of *Newburgh* to *France*, and so a new Friend to strengthen their Alliance upon the *Rhine*, which was before inconvenient enough to *Spain*, by stopping the resort of any *German* Succours into *Flanders*. And if at any time to come, the *French* shall purchase *Juliers* from the Duke of *Newburgh*, as upon many Accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possess'd of the most advantageous Post to facilitate their enterprize upon *Liege*, or *Cologne*, or to disturb the *Hollanders* in *Maastricht*, or to seize upon *Aquisgran*, an Imperial Town; and, indeed, to disturb the Peace of *Christendom*.

OF *Portugal* no other care was taken in the Treaty, than that after the *French* King had pompously declared, "he would have given up all his Conquests by the War, provided the King of *Spain* would have consented that all things should remain in *Portugal* as they were at that present (which Proposition, 'twas said, his Catholick Majesty had absolutely refused) now "the most Christian King should be allow'd three Months time, counting from the day of the Ratification of the Treaty, wherein he might try to dispose the *Portuguese* to satisfy his Catholick Majesty. But after those three Months should be expired, if his good offices should not produce the effect desired, then neither his Most Christian Majesty nor his Successors should give the *Portuguese* any aid or assistance, publicly or secretly, directly or indirectly, by Sea or Land, or in any other manner whatsoever. And this the ingenuity of the Cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the King of *Portugal's* Interest.

To the Prince of *Coudé* all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompence made to each of his Party as could not be refused to their Offices; as President
Viole,

Vieil, and some others : yet *Don Lewis* would not sign the Treaty, till he had sent an Express to the Prince of *Candé*, to inform him of all the particulars, and had receiv'd his full approbation. And even then, the King of *Spain* caused a great Sum of Money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in *Flanders*, and reward his Officers, who were to be disbanded ; a Method *France* did not use at the same time to their Proselytes, but left *Catalanés* to their King's Chastisement, without any provision made for *Don Joseph de Margarita*, and others, who had been the principal Contrivers of those disturbances ; and were left to eat the bread of *France* ; where it is administer'd to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their Native Country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new Rebellion.

WHEN all things were concluded, and the Engrosments preparing, the Cardinal came one Morning into *Don Lewis* his Chamber with a sad Countenance ; and told him, "they had lost all their pains, and the Peace could not be concluded. At which *Don Lewis*, in much disturbance, asked, "what the matter was ? the Cardinal very composedly answer'd, "that it must not be ; that they two were too good Catholics to do any thing against the Pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this Peace ; since his Holyness had declared, that there would be no Peace made ; as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his Pontificate, labour'd it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the Season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it ; so that when he heard that the two Favourites were to meet, of which he had no Notice, he said in the Consistory, "that he was sure that Cardinal *Mazarin* would not make a Peace. *Don Lewis* was glad that there was no other objection against it ; and so all the Company made themselves merry at the Pope's charge.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* discover'd by the information he receiv'd at *Toulouse*, that the Treaty was so near an end, he made all possible hast to the place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found nobody ; which he imputed to the usual delays in their Journey ; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them ; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to *Fantabadia*, where he heard nothing of the King. *Sr Harry Bennet* was in great perplexity, and complain'd, very reasonably, that the King neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by

his not coming. *Don Lewis* seem'd to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilst the Cardinal and He were together. The Treaty was now concluded; and though the Cardinal remain'd still at his old Quarters on the *French* side, under some indisposition of the Gout, yet He and *Don Lewis* were to meet no more. But *Don Lewis* was the less troubled that the King had not come sooner, because he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the King, very cold, and reserv'd; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and seem'd to think his Majesty's hopes desperate; and advis'd *Don Lewis*, "to be wary how he Embarked himself in an Affair that had no foundation; and" that it was rather time for all Catholics to unite to the "breaking the power and interest of the Heretical Party," "wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the King," "except He would become Catholick. And it is believ'd by Wise Men, that, in that Treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in *France*, and *Germany*, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken; chiefly by the surprizing Revolution in *England* (which happen'd the next year) and also by the death of the two great Favourites of the two Crowns, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and Cardinal *Maxarin*; who both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, probably, struck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undream'd of prosperity of our King's Affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in *Europe*, without his concurrence, and even against all his Machinations.

DURING the whole time of the Treaty, *Lockhart* had been at *Bayonne*, and frequently consulted with the Cardinal, and was by him brought to *Don Lewis* twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a Peace were settled between *Spain* and *England*. But the Cardinal treated *Lockhart* (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the Peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made (as appear'd by some of his Letters from *Bayonne*, which fell into the King's hands) and to the last he was perswaded, that *England* should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

THE King, the next day after he had sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to *Toulouse*, receiv'd information upon the way, that the Treaty was absolutely ended, and that *Don Lewis* was return'd to *Madrid*; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his Journey to *Fuen-*
tarabia;

sarabia; and therefore was easily perswaded by the Earl of *Bristol* to take the nearest way to *Madrid*, by entering into *Spain* asoon as they could; presuming that the Marquis of *Ormond* would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majesty. With this resolution, and upon this Intelligence, they continued their Journey till they came to *Saragosa*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Aragon*. Here they receiv'd Advertisement, that the Treaty was not fully concluded, and that *Don Lewis* remain'd still at *Fuentarabia*. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolv'd, that the King, and the Earl of *Bristol*, who had still a mind to *Madrid*, should stay at *Saragosa*, whilst *O Neile* should go to *Fuentarabia*, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

The King by mistake went into Spain as far as to Saragosa.

Don Lewis, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill Accident had befallen the King, when Mr *O Neile* arriv'd, and inform'd them by what accident, and misintelligence, the King had resolv'd to go to *Madrid*, if he had not been better inform'd at *Saragosa*; where he now remain'd, till he should receive farther advice. *Don Lewis* was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of *Bristol*'s; that he held some Intelligence with *Don Juan*, and intended to carry the King to *Madrid*, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his Privy. They were now to save, and to borrow all the Money they could, to defray the Expences which must be shortly made for the Interview, Marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this must be spent upon the King of *England*'s Entry, and Entertainment in *Madrid*; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in *Spain*. The Marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried King must be receiv'd, and caressed in that Court; which would occasion much discourse both in *Spain* and *France*. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and *St Harry Bennet*; who assured him, "that all that was past was by meer mistake, and without any purpose to decline Him, upon whose Friendship alone the King absolutely depended; and undertook positively, "that assoon as his Majesty should be inform'd of his advice, he would make all the hast thither he could, without thought of doing any thing else: which *Don Lewis* desired might be effected assoon as was possible: So *O Neile* return'd to *Saragosa*, and his Majesty, without delay, made his Journey from thence to *Fuentarabia*, with as much expedition as he could use.

Thence returns to Fuentarabia. His Treasurers sent there by Don Lewis de Haro.

THE King was receiv'd according to the *Spanish* Mode and Generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence

rence that could be shew'd to his Catholick Majesty himself, if he had been in that place. *Don Lewis* deliver'd all that could be said from the King, his Master; "how much he "was troubled, that the condition of his Affairs, and the necessity that was upon him to make shortly a long Journey, "would not permit him to invite his Majesty to *Madrid*, and "to treat him in that manner that was suitable to his Grandeur: that having happily concluded the Peace, he had "now nothing so much in his thoughts, as how he might be "able to give, or procure such assistance as his Majesty stood "in need of; and that he should never be destitute of any "thing, that His power and interest could help him to. *Don Lewis* for himself made all those professions, which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed, "that there "was no provision made in the Treaty that the two Crowns "would jointly assist his Majesty; but, that he believ'd the "Cardinal would be ready to perform all good Offices towards him; and that, for his own particular, his Majesty "should receive good Testimony of the profound veneration "he had for him.

The Cardinal would not see the King.

Don Lewis intimated a Wish, that his Majesty could yet have some conference with the Cardinal; who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to visit him, and to let him know, that his Majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his Counsel and Advice. But the Cardinal would by no means admit it; said, "it would "administer unseasonable jealousy to the Parliament, without "any manner of benefit to the King. He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his Affection to the King; desired, "he would have patience till the Marriage "should be over, which would be in the next Spring; and "till then their Majesties must remain in those parts: but, "as soon as that should be dispatched, the whole Court would "return to *Paris*; and that he would not be long there, before "he gave the King some evidence of his kindness and respect: other answer than this the Marquis could not obtain.

AFTER his Majesty had stay'd as long as he thought convenient at *Fuenterabia* (for he knew well that *Don Lewis* was to return to *Madrid* before the King of *Spain* could take any resolution to begin, or order his own Journey, and that he stay'd there only to entertain his Majesty) he discern'd that he had nothing more to do than to return to *Flanders*; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the Earl of *Brisfol*, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any

any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any Man, had wrought himself so much into the good Graces of all the *Spaniards*, that *Don Lewis* was willing to take him with him to *Madrid*, and that he should be receiv'd into the Service of his Catholick Majesty, in such a Province as should be worthy of him. So that his Majesty had now a less Train to return with him, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three Servants.

DON Lewis, with a million of excuses that their Expences had been so great, as had wasted all their Money, presented his Majesty with seven thousand Gold Pistoles, "to defray, as he said, "the Expences of his Journey, with assurance, "that, "when he came into *Flanders*, he should find all necessary "Orders for his better Accommodation, and carrying on his "business. So his Majesty begun his Journey, and took *Paris* in his way to visit the Queen his Mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes; and, towards the end of *December*, he return'd to *Brussels* in good Health; where he found his two Brothers, the Dukes of *Tork*, and *Glocester*, impatiently expecting him.

The King's return towards Flanders by Paris. He came to Brussels about the end of Decemb.

THE pleasure and variety of his Journey, and the very civil Treatment he had receiv'd from *Don Lewis*, with the good disposition he had left the Queen his Mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the King's Spirit, and the Joy for his Return dispersed the present Clouds. But he had not been long at *Brussels*, before he discern'd the same melancholy and despair in the Countenances of most Men, which he had left there: and though there had some Changes happen'd in *England*, which might reasonably encourage Men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those Expectations, that it was a reproach to any Man to think that any good could come from thence.

UPON this melancholick conjuncture some about the King began to think of providing a Religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those People and Places, where, and with whom they were like to reside. The Protestant Religion was found to be very unagreeable to their Fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, Men would have been more out of Countenance to have own'd the Faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the King, that his Restoration depended wholly upon a Conjunction of Catholick Princes, who could never be United, but on the behalf of Catholick Religion.

The ill state
of his Ma-
jesty's affairs
there.

The Duke of
York in-
vited into
Spain.

The Lord
Jermyn
came to the
King with
compliments
from the
Cardinals.

THE best the King could now look for, seem'd to be a permission to remain in *Flanders*, with a narrow assignation for his Bread, which was a melancholick Condition for a King; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from *England* and *Spain*, towards a Peace; and the *Spaniard* had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended Conquest of *Portugal*. And what influence any Peace might have upon his Majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no War in *Flanders*, the Dukes of *York*, and *Glocester*, could no longer remain in an unactive course of Life; and the Duke of *York* had a great Family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of *Carracena* at this time brought the Duke of *York* a Letter from the King of *Spain*, that he would make him *El Admirante del Oceano*, his Highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any Man to be a declared Enemy to their Master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not such a preformers, that the Duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what Conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it: That the Command had been in a younger Son of the Duke of *Savoy*, and at another time in a younger Son of the Duke of *Florence*, who both grew quickly weary of it; for whatever Title they had, the whole Command was in the *Spanish* Officers under them; and that, if the Duke were there, he might possibly have a competent Pension to live on Shore, but would never be suffer'd to go to Sea under any Title of Command, till he first changed his Religion; all this had no signification with them; but they prevail'd with his Royal Highness, to return his consent, and acceptance of the Office, by the same Courier who brought the Letter.

THE Marquis of *Carracena* likewise told the King, "that he had receiv'd Orders to put all things in a readiness for his Expedition into *England*, towards which he would add three thousand Men to those Troops which his Majesty already had. At the same time the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr *Walker Mountague*, came to the King from *Paris*, with many Compliments from the Cardinal, "that when there should be a Peace between the two Northern Kings (for *Sweden* and *Denmark* were now in a War) "*France* would declare avowedly for the King; but in the mean time they could only assist him under hand; and to that purpose, they had appointed three thousand Men to be ready on the Borders
"of

" of *France*, to be Transported out of *Flanders*, and thirty
 " thousand Pistoles to be disposed of by the King to advance
 " that Expedition. *St Harry Bennet* had sent from *Madrid* a
 Copy of the *Spanish* Orders to the Marquis of *Corracena*; by
 which he was not (as he had told the King) to add three
 thousand Men to the King's Troops, but to make those which
 his Majesty had, amount to the Number of three thousand.
 But that which was strangest, the King must be obliged to
 Embark them in *France*. The Men the Cardinal would pro-
 vide, must be Embarked in *Flanders*; and they who were
 to be supplied by *Spain*, must be Embarked in *France*. So
 that by these two specious pretences, and profers, the King
 could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending
England, and would offer nothing of which his Majesty could
 make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what
 was like to come to pass, that they might new form their
 Counsels. And the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr *Mountague*, had fo
 little expectation of *England*, that they concurr'd both in opi-
 nion, that the Duke of *York* should embrace the opportunity
 that was offer'd from *Spain*; to which they made no doubt the
 Queen would give Her consent.

IN this state of despair the King's Condition was concluded
 to be, about the beginning of *March*, old Style, 1659: and
 though his Majesty, and those few entrusted by him, had rea-
 son to believe that God would be more propitious to him,
 from some great alterations in *England*; yet such imagination
 was so looked upon as meer dotage, that the King thought
 not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all Men to
 cast about for themselves, till they were awaken'd, and con-
 founded by such a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath
 scarce vouchsafed to any Nation, since he led his own chosen
 People through the *Red Sea*.

AFTER the defeat of *Booth* and *Middleton*, and the King's The affairs
 hopes so totally destroy'd, the Parliament thought of Trans- of England
 porting the Loyal Families into *Barbadoes*, and *Jamaica*, and after the
 other Plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in Eng- defeat of
 land Children of their Fathers Affections; and, by degrees, *Booth* and
 Middleton.
 so to model their Army that they might never give them
 more trouble. They had sent *Lambert* a thousand pounds to
 buy him a Jewel; which he employ'd better by bestowing it
 among the Officers, who might well deserve it of him. This
 bounty of his, was quickly known to the Parliament; which The Parlia-
 ment grows
 concluded, that he intended to make a Party in the Army, jealous of
 that should more depend upon Him than upon Them. And *Lambert's*
 this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it Army.
 was by His advice, that they were first dissolved, and that He
 in truth had helped to make *Cromwell* Protector, upon his
 promise

promise that He should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolv'd to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the Town.

*The Petition
and Proposals
of Lam-
bert's Ar-
my.*

LAMBERT, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march (as if all were not safe) so staid upon the Persons of Delinquents. He was well inform'd of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a Peace with all Forreigners, and then to Disband their Army, except only some few Regiments, which should consist only of Persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what His portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remember'd, and the good forgotten. He therefore contriv'd a Petition, which was sign'd by the inferior Officers of his Army; in which they desired the Parliament, "that they might be govern'd, as all Armies used to be, by a General, who might be amongst them, and other Officers, according to their Qualities, subordinate to him. The Address was intituled, *The humble Petition and Proposals of the Army, under the Command of the Lord Lambert, in the late Northern Expedition.*

THEY made a large Recapitulation of "the many Services "they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and "that now lately they had preserv'd them from an Enemy, "which, if they had been suffer'd to grow, would, in a short time, "have overrun the Kingdom, and engaged the Nation in a "new bloody War; to which too many Men were still in- "clined; and concluded with a desire, "that they would "commit the Army to Fleetwood, as General; and that they "would appoint Lambert to be Major General. Fleetwood was a weak Man, but very popular with all the praying part of the Army; a Man, whom the Parliament would have trust- ed, if they had not resolv'd to have no General, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any Man's; and Lam- bert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This Pe- tition was sent by some trusty Person to some Colonels of the Army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented first to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the Parliament. He resolv'd first to consult with some of his Friends for Their ad- vice; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immedi- ately inform'd the Parliament "of a Rebellion growing in the "Army, which, if not suppress'd, would undo all they had "done. They, as they were always apt to take Alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the Petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answer'd, he

*This Petition
discover'd to
Haslerig;
who ac-
quaints the
House with
it.*

he had only a Copy, but that such Officers, whom he named, had the Original. The Officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the Afternoon; when they produced the Petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any Address of that kind, passed a Vote, "that the having more general Officers was a thing needleſs, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth." *They paſs a Vote to have no more General Officers;*

THIS put the whole Army into that diſtemper, that *Lambert* could with it in; and brought the Council of Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done ſince the reviving of the Parliament. They prepared and preſented a Petition and Representation to the Parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and aſſured them of "their fidelity towards them; but yet that they would ſo far take care for their own preſervation, that they would not be at the Mercy of their Enemies"; and implied, that they having no way forfeited their Rights of Freemen, had likewiſe Privileges, which they would not quit; and then ſeconded the propoſals of the Northern Brigade with more warmth, and deſired, "that whatever Perſons ſhould for the future groundleſsly inform the Parliament againſt them, creating jealousies, and caſting ſcandalous imputations upon them, may be brought to examination, juſtice, and condign puniſhment." *The Council of Officers upon this propoſe a Petition, and Representation to the Parliament.*

THE Parliament, that was govern'd by *Paine*, and *Haſterig*. (the Heads of the Republick Party, though of very different Natures, and Underſtandings) found there would be no compounding this diſpute amicably, but that the Side muſt be ſuppreſſed. They reſolv'd therefore to take away all hope of Subſiſtence from the Army, if they ſhould be inclin'd to make any alteration in the Government by force. In order thereto they declared, "that it ſhould be Treason in any Perſon whatſoever to raiſe, levy, and collect Money, without conſent in Parliament. Then they made void all Acts for Cuſtom, and Excife; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the Army, except they would prey upon the People, which could not hold long. Next they caſtled *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army; with whom they were moſt offended, for ſubſcribing a Letter to all the other Forces deſiring their concurrence with the Army in *London*, and conſerr'd their Regiments and Commands upon other Perſons, in whom they could conſide; and committed the whole Government of the Army into the hands of ſeven Commiſſioners; who were, *Fleetwood* (whom they believ'd to have a great Intereſt in the Army, and ſo durſt not totally diſoblige him) *Ladlow* (who commanded the Army in *Ireland*) *Monk*

The Parliament declares it Treason to raiſe Money without conſent of Parliament; and make void all Money Acts. They caſtled Lambert, and eight other principal Officers of the Army. They made ſeven Commiſſioners to govern the Army.

Monk (who was their General in *Scotland*) *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton* ; who were all upon the place.

THE Army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the Parliament to provoke so many of them, being not sure of a competent strength to execute their Orders. But they had a great presumption upon the City ; and had already forgotten, how the Army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the Army less terror. The Nine cashier'd Officers were resolv'd not to part with their Commands, nor would the Soldiers submit to their new Officers ; and both Officers and Soldiers consulted their Affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at *Westminster* the next Morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashier'd.

The Parliament send for Forces to defend them, and for the City Militia.

THE Parliament, to encounter this design, sent their Orders to those Regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next Morning at *Westminster* to defend them from force ; and likewise sent into the City to draw down their Militia. Of the Army, the next Morning, there appear'd two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horse ; who, were well Arm'd, and ranged themselves in the *Palace-yard*, with a Resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the Parliament. *Lambert* intended they should have little to do there ; and divided his Party in the Army to the several places by which the City Militia could come to *Westminster*, with order " that they should suffer none to march that way, or " to come out of the Gates ; then placed himself with some Troops in *King-street*, and before *White-Hall*, to expect when the Speaker would come to the House ; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual State, guarded with his Troop of Horse. *Lambert* rode up to the Speaker, and told him, " there was nothing to be done at *Westminster*, and therefore advised him " to return back again to his House : which he refused to do, and endeavour'd to proceed, and called to his Guard to make way. Upon which *Lambert* rode to the Captain, and pulled him off his Horse ; and bid Major *Creed*, who had formerly Commanded that Troop, to mount into his Saddle ; which he presently did. Then he took away the Mace, and bid Major *Creed* conduct Mr *Lenthall* to his House. Whereupon they made his Coach-man turn, and without the least contradiction the Troop march'd very quietly, till he was alighted at his own House ; and then disposed of themselves as their new Captain commanded them.

Lambert draws some Troops together, stops the Speaker, and makes him go home.

WHEN they had thus secured themselves from any more Votes, *Lambert* sent to those who had been order'd into the *Palace-yard* by the Parliament, to withdraw to their Quarters ; which they refused to do ; at which he smiled, and bid them

them then to stay there ; which they did till towards the Evening : but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament sate not, they desired that they might repair to their Quarters ; which they were appointed to do. But their Officers were Cashier'd ; and such sent to command as *Lambert* thought fit ; who found all submission and obedience from the Soldiers, though no body yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any Officer in the Army who was by his Commission above the degree of a Colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own Regiment.

WHEREUPON the Officers of the Army meet together and declare, "that the Army finding it self without a General, or other general Officers, had Themselves made choice of *Fleetwood* to be their General, and of *Lambert* to be their Major General, and of *Desborough* to be Commissary General of the Horse ; and that they bound themselves to obey them in their several Capacities, and to adhere to, and defend them. Upon the publishing this Declaration, they assum'd their several Provinces ; and the whole Army took Commissions from their new General ; and were as much united, as if they were under *Cromwell* ; and look'd upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the Parliament ; which they all detested.

BUT these Generals were not at ease ; they knew well upon what slippery ground they stood : the Parliament had stopp'd all the Channels in which the Revenue was to run ; put an end to all payments of Custom and Excise ; and to revive these Impositions ; by which the Army might receive their Wages, required another Authority than of the Army it self. The divisions in the Parliament, had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful. *Vane*, who was much the wisest Man, found he could never make that Assembly settle such a Government as He affected, either in Church or State : and *Haslerig*, who was of a rude, and stubborn Nature, and of a weak understanding, concurr'd only with him in all the fierce Counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the King, and root out his Majesty's Party : in all other things relating to the Temporal, or Ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgements, but of extraordinary animosity against each other.

VANE was a Man not to be described by any Character of Religion ; in which he had swallow'd some of the fancies, and extravagancies of every Sect, or Faction ; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other Language than was peculiar to that time) a *Man above Ordinances*, unlimited, or unrestrain'd

The Officers meet, and choose Fleetwood General &c.

Vane's and Haslerig's parts in this business.

unrestrain'd by any rules, or bounds prescribed to other Men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect Enthusiast; and, without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which in all matters without the Verge of Religion was Superior to that of most Men) that he did at some time believe, he was the Person deputed to Reign over the Saints upon Earth for a thousand years.

HASLERIG was, as to the State, perfectly Republican; and as to Religion, perfectly Presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a King or a Bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believ'd the Parliament to be the only Government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his Credit in the House was greater than the other's; which made *Vane* less troubled at the Violence that was used (though he would never advise it) and appear willing enough to confer, and joyn with those who would find any other hinge to hang the Government upon: so he presently enter'd into conversation with those of the Army, who were most like to have Authority.

A Committee of Safety constituted by the Army.

A MODEL of such a Government, as the People must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much Agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great Authority to their Counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a Number of Persons should be chosen, who, under the style of a *Committee of Safety*, should assume the present entire Government, and have full power to revive all such Orders, or to make new, which might be necessary for raising of Money, or for doing any thing else which should be judged for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and to consider and determine, what form of Government was fit to be erected, to which the Nation was to submit. They also declared "all the Orders, Acts, or pretended Acts made in Parliament on the 10, 11, and 12 of *October*, before their Interruption, to be void and null to all intents and purposes, as if they had never been.

To this new Invention, how wild soever; they believ'd the People would be perswaded, with the Assistance of the Army, to pay a temporary Obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the Number of this *Committee of Safety* should consist of three and twenty Persons; six or seven Officers of the Army, whereof *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and *Desborough* were three; *Iretton*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Tieburn*, the two principal Officers of the Militia of the City, with four or five more Citizens of more

more private Names; but Men try'd, and faithful to the Republick Interest, and not like to give any countenance to Presbyterians (for they were very jealous of that Party generally) besides three or four others of those who had been the King's Judges, with *Warreston*, *Vane*, *Steel*, and *Whitlock*, whom they made Keeper of their Great Seal.

THUS having choſed each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole Legislative Power of the Nation, and proclaim'd themselves *the Committee of Safety for the Kingdom*, and required all People to pay them Obedience, and issued out their Warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appear'd a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own Tribe in any Parts, they sent Colonel *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, to persuade General *Cobbet/s*
Monk to a concurrence with them; and because they were into Scot-
not confident of him (there being great emulation between land to
Him and *Lambert*) to work upon as many of his Officers as Monk.
as he could; there being many in that Army of whose Affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another Colonel into *Ireland*, to dispose the Army there to a
submission to their Power and Authority. *And another
to the Army
in Ireland.*

BEFORE the Parliament was Routed, they discern'd what *Lambert's* Intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to *Monk*, "that he would take care of his Army, lest it
"should be corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring; and *Haslerig*, who had some Friendship with him, writ particularly to him "to continue firm to the Parliament; and to assure him, "that before *Lambert* should
"be able to be near him to give him any trouble, he would
"give him other advertisement. And some time after *Lambert* had acted that Violence upon the Speaker, so that they could meet no more, *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three of *Haslerig,
Walton,
and Morley
go to Portf-
mouth.*
the Commissioners of the Government of the Army, went to *Portsmouth*; where Colonel *Whetnam* the Governour was their Friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian-Republican Party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; Others, and the most considerable of that Party, professing "that
"they very much desired Monarchical Government, and the
"Person of the King, so that they might have him without
"Episcopacy, and enjoy the Lands of the Church; which they had divided among them. These three were well received at *Portsmouth*; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the Governour turn'd all such Officers and Soldiers out of the Town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the Party of the Army; and Colonel *Morley*, whose Interest was in *Suffex*, easily drew in enough of his
Friends,

Friends, to make them very secure in their Garrison; which the *Committee of Safety* thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the Kingdom were at their Devotion; nor did the matter it self much trouble them; for they knew that *Hastlerig* would never be induced to serve the King, whose Interest only could break all their Measures.

BUT this open declaring of *Portsmouth* for the Parliament happen'd not till the following *December*. That which gave them real trouble was, that they receiv'd bold Letters from *Monk*, about the end of *October*; who presum'd to censure, and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their Power and Authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of *Berwick*. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as *Cobbet* came into *Scotland*, he was committed close Prisoner to *Edenborough* Castle; and that *Monk* used extraordinary diligence to purge his Army, and turn'd all the Fanaticks, and other Persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to *Lambert*, and his Party, both out of the Army, and the Kingdom; sending them under a Guard into *Berwick*, and from thence dismissing them into *England*, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in *Scotland*. This was an Alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect *Monk* to be of their Party: besides that they had always look'd upon him as entirely devoted to the Person of *Cromwell*; otherwise, without obligation to any Party or Opinion, and more like to be seduced by the King, than any Man who had Authority in the three Kingdoms: therefore they resolv'd to send *Lambert*, with their whole Army into the North, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some Troops to guard themselves, and keep the Town quiet, and some others to send to *Portsmouth*, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the Garrison there from making Incurfions into the two Neighbour Counties of *Suffex*, and *Hampshire*, where they had many Friends.

Monk writes
to the Officers
of the Army
declaring for
the Parlia-
ment.
Possesses Ber-
wick;
Imprisons
Cobbet;
and purges
his Army of
Fanaticks.

Lambert
sends against
him.

They send
Clarges,
&c. to Monk

Monk's an-
swer to them.

WHILE all preparations were making for the Army to march towards *Scotland*, the *Committee of Safety* resolv'd once more to try if they could induce *Monk* to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him two such Persons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his Wife's Brother; and after them some Officers of the Army, and two Independent Ministers, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his Friends. He receiv'd these Men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions "that he desired nothing more,

" than

"than to unite Himself and his Army with that of *England*,
 "provided that there might be a Lawful power, to which
 "they might all be subject : but that the Force that had been
 "used upon the Parliament, was an Action of such a Nature,
 "that was destructive to all Government, and that it would
 "be absolutely necessary to restore that to its Freedom, Rights,
 "and Privileges; which being done, he would use all the in-
 "stance and credit he had to procure an Act of Pardon, and He appoints
 "Oblivion, for all that had been done amiss; and this would three Com-
 "unite both Parliament and Army for the publick Safety, missioners to
 "which was apparently threaten'd and shaken'd by this dis- treat with
 "union. He added, "that he so much desired Peace and the Officers of
 "Union, and so little thought of using Force, that he would the Army as
 "appoint three Officers of his Army, *Wilks, Clabery*, and London.
 "Knight, to go to *London*, and treat with the Committee of
 "Safety, of all particulars necessary thereunto. When the
 Persons sent from *London* gave an Account of their reception,
 and of the great professions the General made, and his reso-
 lution to send a Committee to treat upon the Accommoda-
 tion, the Committee of Safety was very well pleased, and con- They as
 cluded, that the fame of their Army's march had frighted him: London
 so that, as they willingly embraced the Overture of a Treaty, accepts of a
 they likewise appointed *Lambert* to hasten his March, and to Treaty.
 make no stay, till he should come to *New-Castle*. All which
 he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his Army
 still encreasing till he came thither.

GENERAL Monk was a Gentleman of a very good Ex- A particu-
 traction, of a very ancient Family in *Devonshire*, always very lar account
 Loyally affected. Being a younger Brother, he enter'd early of General
 into the life and condition of a Soldier, upon that Stage where Monk.
 some of all *Europe* then acted, between the *Spaniard* and the
Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good Foot-Officer in
 the Lord *Pere's* Regiment in *Holland*, at the time when he as-
 sign'd it to the Command of *Colonel Goring*. When the first
 Troubles begun in *Scotland*, *Monk*, and many other Officers
 of the Nation, left the *Dutch* Service, and betook themselves
 to the Service of the King. In the beginning of the *Irish* Re-
 bellion, he was sent thither, with the Command of the Lord
Leicester's own Regiment of Foot (who was then Lieutenant
 of *Ireland*) and continued in that Service with singular repu-
 tation of courage, and conduct. When the War broke out
 in *England* between the King and the Parliament, he fell under
 some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the
 Parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in
 his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination
 towards them; as appear'd by his behaviour at *Nantwich*,
 where he was taken Prisoner, and remained in the Tower till
 the

the end of the War. For though his behaviour had been such in *Ireland*, when the Transportation of the Regiment from thence, to serve the King in *England*, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his Regiment should be sent on that Expedition, and his Answer to the Lord of *Ormond* was so rough, and doubtful, that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the Command of the Regiment to *Harry Warren*, the Lieutenant Colonel of it, an excellent Officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those Regiments were sent to *Chester*, and there were others at the same time sent to *Bristol*, and with them *Mont* went under some Cloud, and from *Bristol* to the King at *Oxford*, where he was known to many Persons of Quality (and his eldest Brother being at the same time most zealous in the King's Service in the West, and most useful) his professions were so sincere (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation) that all Men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the King was willing to send him into the West, where the Gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old Friends and Companions; and so, with the King's leave, made all hast towards *Chester*; where he arriv'd the very day before the Defeat at *Nantwich*; and though his Lieutenant Colonel was very desirous to give up the Command again to him, and to receive his Orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a Volunter, in the first Rank, with a Pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken Prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other Officers sent to *Hull*, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of *London*.

He was no sooner there, than the Lord *Lisle*, who had great kindness for him, and good Interest in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavour'd to perswade him to take a Commission in that Service, and offer'd him a Command Superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the streights he suffer'd in Prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his Exchange, nor Money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several Officers of the same Quality for his Exchange; which was always refused; there having been an Ordinance made, "that no Officer who had been Transported out of *Ireland*, should ever be exchanged; so that most of them remained still in Prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other Prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the King's condition, which could not provide Money enough



for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

WHEN the War was at an end, and the King a Prisoner, *Cromwell* prevailed with *Monk* for his liberty and preferment, to engage himself again in the War of *Ireland*. And, from that time, *Monk* continued very firm to *Cromwell*; who was liberal, and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the Command of *Scotland* into his hands, he feared nothing from those Quarters; nor was there any Man in either of the Armies, upon whose fidelity to himself *Cromwell* more depended. And those of his Western Friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any Attempt upon him, whilst *Cromwell* lived. But as soon as He was dead, *Monk* was generally looked upon as a Man more inclined to the King, than any other in great Authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His Elder Brother had been entirely devoted to the King's Service, and all his Relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of Fanaticism to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon any who were sway'd by those trances.

He had a younger Brother, a Divine, who had a Parsonage in *Devonshire*, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular Integrity; and, being a Gentleman of a good Family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the King. *Sr Hugh Pollard*, and *Sr John Greenvil*, who had both Friendship for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his Brother, advised with him, "whether, since *Cromwell* was now gone, and in all reason it might be expected that his death would be attended with a general Revolution, by which the King's Interest would be again disputed, he did not believe, that the General might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the King, in which, they thought, he would be sure to meet with a universal concurrence from the whole *Scottish* Nation. The honest Clergy-man thought the Overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offer'd himself to make a Journey to his Brother into *Scotland*, upon pretence of a visit (there having been always a brotherly Affection perform'd between them) and directly to propose it to him. *Pollard* and *Greenvil* inform'd the King of this design; and believ'd well themselves of what they wish'd so much and desired his Majesty's Approbation, and Instruction. The King had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a Negotiation. Whereupon his Brother began his Journey towards *Edenborough*, where the General receiv'd him well. But after he had staid some time there, and

found an opportunity to tell him on what Errand he came, He soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "to return
"no more to him with such Propositions.

IN truth, at that time, the General had not given the least publick-proof that he had any thought, or purpose of contributing to the King's Restoration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers Accidents, which fell out in the course of Affairs, and seem'd even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory: yet from that very time, his Brother's Inclinations to the King being known, and his Journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in *Scotland* that he had a purpose to serve the King; which his Majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in *England*.

Monk's
jealousy of
Lambert
before this
time.

Now upon the several suddain Changes in *England*, and the Army's possessing it self of the entire Government, *Monk* saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by *Lambert's* greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the North, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into Treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other Party that would own and avow the Parliament's Interest, as He had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose, than his own profit and honour, under the establishment of that Government.

He calls to-
gether an
Assembly of
the Scottish
Nation.

WHEN he heard of *Lambert's* being pass'd *York*, and his making hast to *New-Castle*, and had purged out of his Army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an Assembly, somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of *Scotland*; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that People to an entire submission to that Tyrannical Yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was Friendly and Companiable enough; and as he was fear'd by the Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, so he was not unlov'd by the Common People, who receiv'd more Justice, and less Oppression from him, than they had been accusom'd to under their own Lords. When this Convention appear'd before him, he told them, "that he had receiv'd a
"Call from Heaven, and Earth, to march with his Army in-
"to *England*, for the better settlement of the Government
"there; and though he did not intend his absence should be
"long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance
"of

His discourse
to them.

“ of the Peace which they enjoyed ; and therefore he expected, and desired, that, in any such occasion, they would be ready to joyn with the Forces he left behind in their own defence. In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, “ that they would pay in a present Sum of Money out of the Arrears of their Taxes, for supplying the necessities of the Army, without “ which it could not well march into *England*.

FROM the time that he had settled his Government in that Kingdom, he had shew'd more kindness to, and used more familiarity with such Persons as were most notorious for Affection to the King, as finding them a more direct and punctual People than the rest : and when these Men resorted to him upon this Convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good Inclinations to the King ; by which imagination of theirs, he receiv'd great Advantage : for they pay'd him the Arrears of a twelve Months Tax over the Kingdom ; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his Army together. And after he had assign'd those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of Major General *Morgan*, he march'd with the rest to *Berwick* ; where a good part of His Horse and Foot expected him ; having refused to ratify the Treaty sign'd by his Commissioners at *London*, and committed Colonel *Wilks*, one of them, upon his return to *Scotland*, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his Instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another Treaty to be held at *New-Castle* ; which, though he knew it would be govern'd by *Lambert*, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion, in the Committee of Safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of Peace.

IT was towards the end of *November*, that *Lambert* with his Army arriv'd at *New-Castle*, where he found the Officers and Soldiers whom *Monk* had cashier'd ; and who, he persuaded the People, had deserted *Monk*, for his infidelity to the Common-wealth, and that most of those, who yet staid with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his Committee of Safety, which it was like to stand in need of. *Hastlerig* and *Morley* were now looked upon, as the Persons invested with the Authority of Parliament, whose Interest was supported by them ; and the Officer, who was sent by the Committee of Safety to restrain them in *Portsmouth*,

*The Soldiers
before Port-
smouth re-
voluted to it.*

month, or rather to restrain Persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his Soldiers; who declared "that they would serve the Parliament, and so went into *Portsmouth*; and another Officer, who was sent with a stronger Party to second them, discovering, or fomenting the same Affections in his Soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too Numerous to be contain'd within that Garrison, but were Quarter'd to be in readiness to march whither their Generals, *Hastlerig* and *Morley*, would conduct them.

*The City Ap-
prentices
rise, but are
suppressed by
Hewson.*

THE City took new courage from hence; and what the Masters durst not publicly own, the Apprentices did, their dislike, of the present Government; and flocking together in great Multitudes, declared "that they would have a free Parliament. And though Colonel *Hewson* (a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a Brewer of small Beer) who was left to guard the Committee of Safety, suppressed that Commotion by marching into the City, and killing some of the Apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the City the more against the Army; which, they said, "was only kept on foot to murder the Citizens. And it was said, they caused a Bill of Indictment to be prepared against *Hewson* for those Murthers. The Common Council appear'd every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was propos'd to them by the Committee of Safety; which begun to be universally abhor'd, as like to be the Original of such another Tyranny as *Cromwell* had erected, since it wholly depended upon the Power and Spirit of the Army: though on the other hand, the Committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a Parliament called to meet together in *February* next, under such Qualifications and Restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such Persons who would destroy them. But this gave no satisfaction, every Man remembering the Parliament that had been packed by *Cromwell*.

*Lawson
and the Fleet
declare for
the Parlia-
ment, and
come into
the River.*

BUT that which broke the heart of the Committee of Safety, was the revolt of their Favourite Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, a Man at that time appearing at least as much Republican, as any amongst them; as much an Independent, as much an Enemy to the Presbyterians and to the Covenant, as *St Harry Vane* himself; and a great dependent upon *St Harry Vane*; and one whom they had rais'd to that Command in the Fleet, that they might be sure to have the Sea-men still at their devotion. This Man, with his whole Squadron, came into the River, and declared for the Parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent *St Harry Vane*, and two others of great intimacy with *Lawson*, to con-

fer

fer with him; who, when they came to the Fleet, found *St Aubrey Abbley Cooper*, and two others, Members of the Parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their Charms; and told them, "that he would submit to no Authority but that of the Parliament."

UPON the Fame of this, *Haslerig* and *Morley* resolv'd with *Haslerig* their Troops to leave *Portsmouth*, and to march towards *London*, where their Friends now prevail'd so much. And the News of this march rais'd new thoughts in those Soldiers who had been left by *Lambert* to execute any Orders, which they should receive from the Committee of Safety. The Officers of these Regiments had been cashier'd by the Council of Officers, or the Committee of Safety, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been discountenanced by the Parliament, the Regiments for a time appear'd as much confirm'd in the Interest of the Army, as could be wish'd. But these cashier'd Officers, upon so great Revolutions in the City and the Navy, and the News of the Advance of *Haslerig* and *Morley*, resolv'd to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether they had as much Credit with them as their new Officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed, they put themselves into the Heads of their Regiments, and marched with them into the Field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the Parliament, they all marched into *Chancery-Lane*, to the House of the Speaker; and profess'd their resolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to swerve from their Fidelity to it.

LAMBERT, upon the first News of the forward Spirit in the City, had sent back *Desborough's* Regiment; which was now march'd as near *London* as *St Albans*; where, hearing what their fellows at *Westminster*, with whom they were to joya, had done, they resolv'd not to be the last in their Submission; but declared that they likewise were for the Parliament; and gave the Speaker notice of their Obedience. In all these several Tergravations of the Soldiers, General *Fleetwood* remain'd still in consultations with the Committee of Safety; and when any Intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the Soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desir'd to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his Knees to his Prayers, and could hardly be prevail'd with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to Prayers, and put himself upon his Knees before them: And when some of his Friends importun'd him to appear more vigorous in the Charge he had, without which

they must be all destroy'd, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his Face, and would not hear him: So that Men ceased to wonder why *Lambert* had preferr'd him to the Office of General, and been content with the second Command for himself.

Lenthall goes into the City.

LENTHAL the Speaker, upon this new Declaration of the Soldiers, recover'd his Spirit, and went into the City, conferr'd with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them; "that the Parliament would meet (though not immediately) "within very few days. For, as the Members were not many, who were alive, and suffer'd to meet as the Parliament, so they were now disperfed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own Authority, remov'd the Lieutenant, who had been confirm'd there by *the Committee of Safety*; and put *Sr Anthony Asbley Cooper*, and other Members of the Parliament, into the Government and Command of the Tower.

Changes the Command of the Tower.

The Parliament meets again at Westminster.

ALL things being in this good order, He and the Members met again together at *Westminster*, on *December* the 26th, and assumed the Government of the three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. Assoon as they came together, they repeal'd their Act against the payment of Excise and Customs; and put those Collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without Money to pay their Profelyte Forces, and to carry on their other Expences. Then they appointed Commissioners to direct the Quarters into which the Army should be put; and made an Order, that all the Troops under the Command of *Lambert*, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those Quarters to which they were assign'd.

They order Lambert's Troops to their several Quarters.

THIS Man was now in a disconsolate condition: As *Mont* approach'd nearer to him, very many of his Soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The Lord *Fairfax* had rais'd Forces, and possess'd himself of *Tork*, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last Order of the Parliament so entirely stripp'd *Lambert* of his Army, that there remain'd not with him above one hundred Horse; all the rest return'd to their Quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the Officers of the Army, who had been formerly Cashier'd by the Parliament, and had resum'd their Commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their Charges, and committed Prisoners to their own Houses. *Sr Harry Vane*, and divers other Members of the House who had concurr'd with *the Committee of Safety*, were likewise confin'd to their own Houses: So that the Parliament seem'd now again

Lambert's Army separate; and he is committed to the Tower. Vane and Others who had concurr'd with the Committee of Safety, confin'd to their own Houses.

again possessed of a more absolute Authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition, or contradiction.

THE other Changes and Fluctuations had still administer'd some hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new Animosities amongst the Chief Ministers of the former Mischiefs, dispos'd Men to believe that the Government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp Engagement between *Lambert* and *Monk* might make their parts of the Army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all Parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new Parliament; in the Election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the People would choose Sober and Wise Men, who would rather bind up the Wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. *The Committee of Safety* had neither receiv'd the Reverence, nor inculcated the Fear, which any Government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising Resurrection of the Parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only Image of Power that was most formidable to the King and his Party, seem'd to pull up all their hopes by the Roots, and was interpreted by that Party, as an Act of Providence to establish their monstrous Murders and Usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to Posterity, that there were very few Men, who bore a part in these Changes and giddy Revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the King's Restoration, or who wish'd well to his Interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what Light might break out of this Darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this Confusion. This was the true State of Affairs when the King return'd from *Fuentarabia* to *Brussels*, or of the King within few days after; and therefore 'tis no wonder, that there was that dejection of Spirit upon those about his Majesty; and that the Duke of *Tork*, who saw so little hope of returning into *England*, was well pleas'd with the Condition that was offer'd him in *Spain*, and that his Servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

Upon this return of the Parliament the King's Affairs seem'd more desperate.

The Condition of the King at Brussels.

WHILST the divisions had continued in the Army, and the Parliament seem'd entirely depose'd and laid aside, and no body imagin'd a possibility of any composition without Blood, the Cardinal himself, as is said before, and the *Spanish* Ministers, seem'd ready and prepar'd to advance any design of the King's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging Animosities compos'd, or suppress'd, without one broken Head, and those very Men again in possession of the

Government and the Army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more securely settled against Domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their Neighbours, than it had been under *Cromwell* himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm Alliances with it.

THERE remain'd only within the King's own Breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that *Mont's* march into *England* might yet proddce some alteration. His Majesty had a secret Correspondence with some principal Officers in his Army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great Services; and it was presum'd that they would undertake no such perilous Engagement without His privy and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his Judgement, that whatever present Conditions the Governing Party might give him, for the Service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the Power they saw he was possessed of, and that an Army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would Conduct them. And it was evident enough that the Parliament resolv'd to new Model their Army, and to have no Man in any such extent of Command, as to be able to Controle their Counsels. Then his Majesty knew they were jealous of his Fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore *Mont* would think himself obliged to provide for his own Safety and Security.

BUT, I say, these were but faint hopes, grounded upon such probabilities as despairing Men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those Officers had honest Inclinations; and, as Wise Men, had concluded, that, from those frequent Shuffles, some Game at last might fall out that might prove to the King's Advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the Persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appear'd they ever gave the General the least cause to imagine they had any such Affection; and if they had, 'tis likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happiness, that the General never own'd his purpose to serve his Majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power to do. If he had declar'd his resolution sooner, he had been destroy'd himself; the whole Machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only mov'd by a Divine hand; and
it

it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass, which, undoubtedly, no one Man living had, of himself, either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt, and execute.

WHEN the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wish'd that General *Monk* was again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*. But as he continued his march towards *London*, without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to Command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great Service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that a good part of his Forces might be sent back to *Scotland*;" and He, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any Work they could have to do in those Northern parts, continued his march with an Army of about five thousand Foot and Horse, consisting of such Persons in whose Affections to him he had full Confidence. When he came to *Tork*, he found that City in the possession of the Lord *Fairfax*; who receiv'd him with open Arms, as if he had drawn those Forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the Army's possessing it, and to make *Monk's* Advance into *England* the less interrupted.

THE truth is, that, upon a Letter from the King, delivered to *Fairfax* by *St. Heratio Townshend*, and with his sole privacy, and upon a presumption that General *Monk* brought good Affections with him for his Majesty's Service, that Lord had call'd together some of his old disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and many principal Gentlemen of the Country, and marched in the Head of them into *Tork*, some time after that *Lambert* was pass'd towards *New-Castle*, with a full resolution to declare for the King; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with *Monk*, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the Testimony of his own Conscience, and presently dismissed his Troops, being well contented with having, in the Head of the principal Gentlemen of that large County, presented their desires to the General, first in Person, and afterwards in Writing, "that he "would be instrumental to restore the Nation to Peace and "Security, and to the enjoying those Rights and Liberties, "which by the Law were due to them, and of which they "had been robb'd and depriv'd by so many years distractions; "and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either for "the restoring those Members which had been excluded in "the year 1648 by Force and Violence, that they might exercise that Trust the Kingdom had reposed in them; or "that

“that a free and full Parliament might be called by the Votes
“of the People; to which all Subjects had a Right by their
“Birth.

*Addresses to
Monk from
all Counties
as he passed.
The City sent
to him by
their Sword-
Bearer to the
same purpose.
His manner
of receiving
these Ad-
dresses.*

THE principal Persons of all Counties through which the General passed, flocked to him in a Body with Addresses to the same purpose. The City of *London* sent a Letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as far as to *Morpeth*, to offer their Service; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free Votes of the People. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare “that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present Parliament; yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, “that he would procure a free Parliament: so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

*The Parlia-
ment sends
Scot and Ro-
binson
to meet him.*

THE Parliament was far from being confident that *Monk* was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a Body, his receiving so many Addresses from the People, and his treating Malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his Professions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to Their Wisdom, had a good Aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the People, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of Addresses, and resort of Malignants, they sent two of their Members of most credit with him, *Scot* and *Robinson*, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the Service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance, and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any Delinquents. But this served but to draw more Affronts upon them; for those Gentlemen who were civilly used by the General, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose Persons they had all Contempt; and for the Authority of those who sent them, had no kind of reverence. As soon as the City knew of the deputed those two Members, they likewise sent four of their principal Citizens, to perform the same Compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all Men desired.

*As St. Al-
bans he sent
to the Par-
liament to
have the o-
ther Regi-
ments re-
mov'd out of
Town.*

HE continued his march with very few halts, till he came to *St. Albans*. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the Parliament, “that he had some apprehension that those Regiments and Troops of the Army who had formerly deserted “them, though for the present they were returned to their “obedience, would not live peaceably with his Men, and therefore desired that all the Soldiers (except one or two Regiments, which he named) “who were then quarter’d in the
“*Strand*,

“*Strand, Westminster*, or other Suburbs of the City, might
 “be presently removed, and sent to more distant Quarters,
 “that there might be room for his Army. This Message was
 unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them; and made them
 see their Fate would still be under the force and awe of an Ar-
 my. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent
 their Orders to all Soldiers to depart; which, with the rea-^{The Parlia-}
 son and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully receiv’d,^{ment gives}
 that a Mutiny did arise amongst the Soldiers; and the Regi-^{Orders ac-}
 ment that was Quarter’d in *Somerſet House*, expressly refused ^{cordingly.}
 to obey those Orders; so that there were like to be new Uproars.
 But their Officers, who would have been glad to inflame them
 upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and
 so at last all was well composed, and Officers and Soldiers re-
 moved to the Quarters assign’d them, with animosity enough
 against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And
 in the beginning of *February*, General *Monk* with his Army ^{Monk}
 marched through the City into the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, ^{marches in}
 where it was Quarter’d; his own Lodgings being provided ^{about the be-}
 for him in *White-Hall*. ^{ginning of}
^{February.}

He was shortly after conducted to the Parliament. There
 he had a Chair appointed for him to sit in; and the Speaker
 made him a Speech to this effect, “that though it was God,
 “and not Man, who had done this great work, and ought to
 “have the Glory of it; yet the Influence of that Glory ex-
 “tended to Him the Instrument, as a reward of his prudent
 “and wise Conduct: that when their Friends had left them,
 “and there was a great defection in duty and trust, so that the
 “whole Nation seem’d to be expos’d to the utmost ruin; they
 “discern’d, as the Prophet did, a little Cloud afar off, and
 “in His hand which had dispersed the Miseries of these Na-
 “tions, and was become a glorious Mercy to them all: that
 “the House had a true resentment of his Service, and return’d
 “their hearty thanks to Him, and all his Officers and Sol-
 “diers.

THE General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility ^{Monk’s}
 of Speech; but after having thanked them, “for the honour ^{Reply.}
 “they had done him for but doing his duty; he told them,
 “that, in his march from *Scotland*, several Applications, with
 “numerous Subscriptions, had been made to him, for a full
 “and free Parliament, for admittance of the secluded Mem-
 “bers without any previous Oath or Engagement; and that
 “this Parliament would determine their Sitting: to all which
 “he had answer’d, that they were now a free Parliament;
 “and that they had voted to fill up their House, and then
 “they would be a full Parliament; and that they had already
 “determin’d their Sitting. But as for the secluded Members,
 “this

“ this Parliament had already given judgement in it, in which
 “ all People ought to acquiesce; and that to admit any Mem-
 “ ber to sit in Parliament, without a previous Oath to pre-
 “ serve the Government in being, was never done in England.
 “ But now he craved pardon to say to themselves, that the
 “ less Oaths of Engagements were imposed, their Settlement
 “ would be the sooner attain'd to: that He knew, all the so-
 “ ber Gentry would close with them, if they might be ten-
 “ derly and gently used: that it was their common Concern-
 “ ment to amplify, not to lessen, their Interest, and to be care-
 “ ful that neither the Cavalier nor the Fanatick Party should
 “ have yet a share in the Civil, or Military Power.

THE rest of his Speech concern'd *Ireland*; and *Scotland*.
 And all being spoken with more than his natural warmth,
 there were some Expressions in it which they disliked. But
 others gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faith-
 ful, though inwardly they heartily wish'd that he was again in
Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the Ma-
 lignity of their old Army; and they watch'd for some occa-
 sion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them,
 or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

THE late confusions and interruptions of all publick re-
 ceipts had wholly emplied their Coffers, out of which the
 Army, and all other expences, were to be supplied. And
 though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again,
 renew'd their Ordinances for all Collections and Payments,
 yet Money came in very slowly; and the People generally
 had so little reverence for their Legislators, that they gave
 very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found
 it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by de-
 grees make themselves more universally obey'd, to require
 the City presently to collect and bring in the Arrears of their
 Taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable Sum
 of Money of them; which could not be easily done but by
 the advice, and with the consent of the Common-Council;
 that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly, and
 peaceably, without their distribution.

*The Common
 Council of
 the City are
 refractory to
 the Parlia-
 ment.*

THE Common-Council was constituted of such Persons as
 were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit
 to, or comply with any of their Commands. They did not
 only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded, but, in
 the debate of it, excepted against the Authority, and, upon the
 matter, declared, “ that they would never submit to any Im-
 “ position that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament.
 And it was generally believ'd, that they had assumed this
 courage upon some confidence they had in the General; and
 the Apprehension of this, made the Parliament to be in the
 greater

greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their Empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full Experiment of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

THE Parliament having received a full information from those Aldermen, and others, whose Interest was bound up with their's, of all that had passed at the Common-Council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the Citizens, referr'd it to the consideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious City, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and return'd their Advice to the Parliament, "that some part of the Army might be sent into the City, and remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of the Common-wealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the Parliament. In Order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, they thought it convenient that the Posts and Chains should be removed from, and out of the several Streets of the City; and that the Portcullises, and Gates of the City, should be taken down and broken. Over and above this, they named ten or eleven Persons, who had been the principal Conductors in the Common-Council, all Citizens of great reputation; and advis'd "that they should be apprehended and committed to Prison, and that thereupon a new Common-Council might be erected, that would be more at their Devotion.

THIS sound advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the City with his Army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their Service; and He as readily executed their Commands; led his Army into the Town on Feb. the 9th, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them) caused as many, as he could, of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pull'd down and broke the Gates and Portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole City; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, he return'd Himself to *White-Hall*, and his Army to their former Quarters. And by this last Act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him, and confirm'd his Matters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant Injunctions. And many at that time feared, that

*Monk sent
into the City
to reduce it
to obedience.*

*Return'd
thence
again.*

that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other Counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

The Parliament refused to joyn others in Commission with him, and receive a Petition by Barebone from the Fanaticke.

WHILST He was executing this their Tyranny upon the City, They were contriving how to lessen his Power and Authority, and resolv'd to joyn others with him in the Command of the Army; and, upon that very day, they receiv'd a Petition, which they had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a Man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mention'd, *Praise-God Barebone*, in the head of a crowd of Sectaries. The Petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the Memory of the late King, and against the Person of the present King, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the Kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter Extirpation of all which it press'd with great Acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those Members to sit in the present Parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which, the Petitioners said, "would prove the inevitable destruction of all the Godly in "the Land: and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no Person whatsoever might be admitted to the "exercise of any Office or Function in the State, or in the "Church, no not so much as to teach a School, who did not "first take the Oath of Abjuration of the King, and of all his "Family, and that he would never submit to the Government of any One single Person whatsoever; and that who- "soever should presume so much as to propose, or mention "the Restoration of the King in Parliament, or any other "place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemn'd for High "Treason.

Monk's chief Officers discontented at this neglect of the Parliament of their General.

THIS Petition was receiv'd with great approbation by the House, their Affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly return'd by the Speaker: all which information the General receiv'd at *White Hall*, when he return'd out of the City; and was presently attended by his chief Officers; who, with open mouths, inveigh'd against the proceedings of the Parliament, "their manifest ingratitude "to him, and the indignity offer'd to him, in giving such "countenance to a rabble of infamous Varlets, who desired "to set the whole Kingdom in a flame, to comply with their "Fanatick and mad Enthusiasms; and that the Parliament "would never have admitted such an infamous Address with

"appro-

“approbation, except they had first resolv’d upon his Ruin
 “and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he
 “did not prevent it by his Wisdom, and Sagacity; and there-
 upon told him of the under-hand Endeavours which were
 used to work upon the Affections of the Soldiers.

THE General had been prepared, by the conferences of
Scot and Robinson in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he
 came to the Parliament, he must take the Oath of Abjuration
 of the King and his Family. And therefore they had advised
 him “to offer the taking it himself, before it should be pro-
 “posed to him, as a matter that would confirm all Men in an
 “entire confidence in him. When he came to the Parlia-
 ment, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day de-
 dicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which
 it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But
 they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last op-
 portunity, which they look’d upon as a better earnest of his
 fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then
 taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in
 the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awaken’d
 by this Alarm from his Officers, and the temper they were in, *This awakens him.*
 and his flegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in
 danger; and that this body of Men, that was called the Par-
 liament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves,
 and those who adher’d to them. He had observ’d throughout
 the Kingdom, as he march’d, how despicable they were in
 the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or
 appellation but the *Rump*, as the sag end of a Carcase long
 since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with
 his Officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to
 unite his Army to him that they might not leave him in any
 resolution he should think fit to take.

IN the morning, which was very soon after he had broken *He marches*
 the Gates and the Hearts of the City, he called his Army a- *again into*
 gain together, and marched with it into *London*, taking up *the City, and*
 his own Quarters at an Alderman’s House. At the same time *sends an em-*
 he left *White-Hall*, he sent a Letter to the Parliament, in *passionate*
 which he roundly took notice of “their unreasonable, un- *Letter to the*
 “just, and unpolitick proceedings; of their abetting and *Parliament.*
 “countenancing wicked, and unchristian Tenents in reference
 “to Religion, and such as would root out the practice of
 “any Religion; of their underhand corresponding with those
 “very Persons whom they had declared to be Enemies, and
 “who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts
 “and indignities they had undergone, in and after their dis-
 “solution. Thereupon he advised them in such Terms as
 they could not but understand for the most peremptory Com-
 mand

*His Letter to
the Parli-
ament printed
and disper-
sed.*

mand, "that, in such a time (a time prescribed in his Letter "they would issue out Writs for a new Parliament, that so "their own sitting might be determined; which was the "only Expedient, that could return Peace and Happiness to "the Kingdom, and which both the Army and Kingdom ex- "pected at their hands. This Letter was no sooner deliver'd to the House, than it was Printed, and carefully publish'd, and dispersed throughout the City, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was Embarked, and so entertain'd no new Jealousies of him.

*He meets the
Lord Mayor
and Common
Council, ex-
cuses what
was past,
and promises
to stand by
them, and
They by him.
Great re-
joycing in
the City up-
on it.*

AFTER he had dined with the Lord Mayor, and disposed his Army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired Him, and the Aldermen, with the Common Council, to meet him at the *Guild-Hall*; where, after many Excuses for the work of the other day, they plighted their Troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect Union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the General to his Lodgings, and all the Bells of the City proclaim'd, and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the Army and the City were of one mind. And as soon as the Evening came, there was a continual light of Bone-fires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a Bone-fire at which they did not roast a Rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "which, they said, "was for the Celebration of the Funeral of the Par- "liament: and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that Night exercised to defame the Par-liament, and to magnify the General.

*The Parlia-
ment sent
some Mem-
bers to treat
with him.
He engages
them in a
conference
with some
secluded
Members.*

IN such a huddle and mixture of loose People of all Con- ditions, and such a transport of Affections, it could not be otherwise but that some Men would drink the King's Health; which was taken no notice of; nor was it known that one Person of Condition did once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parlia- ment, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a Committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceiv'd were most like to comply with his Ambition. The entertainment he gave this Committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another Committee of the secluded

Members.

Members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, "that in justice the secluded Members ought to be admitted before the calling another Parliament, and the dissolution of this.

AFTER He had put the City into the posture they desired, and found no danger threaten'd him from thence, he return'd *He returns to White-Hall.* again to his Quarters in *White-Hall*, and disposed his Army to those Posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the Members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others who had been Excluded, and lamented "the sad Condition the Kingdom was in, which he principally *Sends for Members of both Parties.* "imputed to the division, and divisions, which had arisen "in Parliament among those who were faithful to the Common-wealth: that he had had many Conferences with them "together, and was satisfied by those Gentlemen, who had "been Excluded, of their Integrity; and therefore he had desired this Conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he "might not be mistaken in his Delivery, or misapprehended "in his Expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what *He delivers his mind to them in a paper.* "he had a mind to say in writing; which he Commanded his Secretary to read to them: and was as follows.

"Gentlemen,

"You are not, I hope, ignorant, what care and endeavors have been used, and means essay'd, for healing the breaches of our divisions amongst our selves; and that in order thereunto divers Conferences have been procured between you, though to small effect; yet having at length received fuller satisfaction, from those worthy Gentlemen that were secluded, than formerly; I was bold to put you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I might open my self to you all, even with more freedom than formerly: but lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed to writing the Heads of what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly to you all.

"Gentlemen,

"It appears unto me, by what I have heard from You and the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next under God, lieth in Your hands. And when I consider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which I have reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, and how great a share of the Nations Sufferings will fall

“upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a Settlement, I am
 “in very good hopes, there will be found in you all, such
 “melting Bowels towards these poor Nations, and towards
 “one another, that you will become Healers, and makers up,
 “of all its woeful Breaches. And that such an opportunity
 “may clearly appear to be in Your hands, I thought good to
 “assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have no-
 “thing before my Eyes but God’s Glory, and the Settlement
 “of these Nations upon Common-wealth Foundations. In
 “pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and for my
 “Own particular, I shall throw my self down at Your Feet
 “to be any thing or nothing in order to these great Ends. As
 “to the way of future Settlement, far be it from Me to im-
 “pose any thing; I desire you may be in perfect freedom;
 “only give me leave to mind You, that the Old Foundations
 “are by God’s Providence so broken, that, in the eye of rea-
 “son, they cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the Peo-
 “ple of these Nations, that have engaged for their Rights, in
 “defence of the Parliament, and the great and main ends of
 “the Covenant, for uniting and making the Lord’s Name
 “One in the Three Nations: and also the Liberty of the Peo-
 “ple’s Representatives in Parliament will be certainly lost;
 “for if the People find, that after so long and bloody a War
 “against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at
 “last He must be taken in again, it will be out of question,
 “and is most manifest, He may for the future govern by his
 “Will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-Men as He
 “pleaseth, and yet the People will never more rise for As-
 “sistance.

“AND as to the Interest of this Famous City (which hath
 “been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments, and unto
 “whom I am for their great Affection so deeply engaged)
 “certainly it must lye in a Common-wealth; that Govern-
 “ment only being capable to make them, through the Lord’s
 “Blessing, the Metropolis and Bank of the Trade for all
 “*Christendom*; whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them
 “above others.

“AND as to a Government in the Church, the want
 “whereof hath been no small Cause of these Nations distra-
 “ctions, it is most manifest, that if it be Monarchical in the
 “State, the Church must follow, and Prelacy must be
 “brought in; which these Nations, I know, cannot bear, and
 “against which they have so solemnly Sworn.

“AND indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian Govern-
 “ment, with a sufficient Liberty for Consciences truly tender,
 “appears at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable
 “way to the Church’s Settlement.

“THE

"THE main thing that seems to lyē in the way, is the
 "Interest of the Lords, even of those Lords who have shew'd
 "themselves Noble indeed, by joyning with the People, and
 "in defence of those just Rights have adventured their dearest
 "Blood and large Estates. To that I shall only say, that
 "though the state of these Nations be such, as cannot bear
 "their Sitting in a distinct House; yet, certainly, the Wisdom
 "of Parliament will find out such Hereditary Marks of Ho-
 "nour for them, as may make them more Noble in after
 "Ages.

"Gentlemen,

"UPON the whole matter, the best result that I can make
 "at present for the Peace of these Nations, will be, in my
 "opinion, that you forthwith go to sit together in Parliament,
 "in order,

1. "To the settling the Conduct of the Armies of the
 "Three Nations in that manner, as they may be serviceable
 "to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own, and the
 "Nation's ruin, by Faction and Division.

2. "To the providing sufficient maintenance for them;
 "that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the Navy by
 "Sea, and all the Arrears of both, and other contingencies of
 "the Government.

3. "To the appointing a Council of State with Authority
 "to settle the Civil Government and Judicatories in *Scotland*
 "and *Ireland*, and to take care for the issuing of Writs for
 "the Summoning a Parliament of these Three Nations united,
 "to meet at *Westminster* the 20th day of *April* next, with such
 "Qualifications as may secure the Publick Cause we are all
 "engaged in, and according to such distributions as were used
 "in the Year 1654. Which Parliament so called, may meet
 "and act in freedom, for the more full Establishing of this
 "Common-wealth, without a King, single Person, or House
 "of Lords.

4. "To a Legal Dissolution of this Parliament, to make
 "way for Succession of Parliaments.

"AND in order to these good Ends, the Guards will not
 "only willingly admit you, but faithfully both my self, and
 "every the Officers under my Command; and I believe the
 "Officers and Soldiers of the Three Nations will spend their
 "Blood for you and successive Parliaments.

"IF Your Conjunction be directed to this end, you may
 "part Honourably, having made a fair step to the Settle-
 "ment of these Nations, by making a way for successive Par-
 "liaments.

"BUT I must needs say, that if any different Counsell
 "should

“should be taken (which I have no reason to fear) these Nations would presently be thrown back into Force and Violence, and all hopes of this much desired Establishment buried in disorder; which the Lord in his great Mercy I hope will prevent. And so God speed you well together, and unite your hearts for the preservation of Peace and Settlement of these Nations, to His Glory, and Yours, and all our Comforts.

DIVERS who heard this, thought there was no dissimulation in it, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the King: for, without doubt, he had not to this hour seem’d to them to have any purpose, or thought to serve him, but appear’d to be really of the opinion he express’d in his Paper, that it was a work impossible. So that they thought he desired nothing, but that he might see a Common-wealth establish’d in such a Model as *Holland* was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the Prince of *Orange* possessed in that Government. He had not, from his marching out of *Scotland* to this time, had much publick conversation with any Persons who had serv’d the King; nor had he hitherto, or, for sometime after, did he set one of the King’s Friends at Liberty, though all the Prisons were full of them; but on the contrary, they were every day committed by the Rump-Parliament; and with them it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the King’s Restoration.

AS SOON as the Conference above mention’d was ended with the Members of the Parliament, They who had been excluded from the year 1648, repair’d to the House on *Feb. the 21st*, and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolish’d all the Orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for Him who had so well provided for Them, by renewing and enlarging the General’s Commission, and revoking all other Commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign Quarters to any part of the Forces.

The secluded Members go to the House:

Their transactions there.

THEY who had sate before, had put the whole Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of Sectaries, Persons generally of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new Tenent in Religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the King’s Party. All these Commissions were revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the Nobility, and principal Gentry throughout the Kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no Person should be capable of being trusted in that Province, who did not first declare under his hand,

hand, "that he did confess, and acknowledge, that the War
"raised by the two Houses of Parliament against the late
"King, was just, and lawful, until such time as force and vio-
"lence was used upon the Parliament in the year 1648.

IN the last place, they raised an Assessment of one hundred
thousand pounds by the Month, for the payment of the
Army, and defraying the Publick expences for six Months, to
which the whole Kingdom willingly submitted; and the City
of *London*, upon the credit and security of that Act, advanced
as much ready Money as they were desired; and having thus
far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they
could for the future, they issued out Writs to call a Parliament, *They issue*
to meet upon the five and twentieth day of *April* next ensuing *Writs for a*
(being *April* 1660) and then, on the sixteenth, or seventeenth *New Parlia-*
day of *March*, after they had appointed a Council of State, of *ment: and*
which there were many sober and honest Gentlemen, who did *dissolve*
not with the King ill, they dissolv'd that present Parliament, *themselves,*
against all the importunities used by the Sectaries (who in *and appoint*
Multitudes flocked together, and made Addresses in the Name *a New Coun-*
of their Party in the City of *London*, that they would not dis- *cil of State*
solve themselves) but to the unspeakable Joy of all the rest of
the Kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very different af-
fections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their
weariness and detestation of the long Parliament.

WHEN the King, who had rather an imagination, than an
expectation, that the march of General *Monk* to *London* with *The King's*
his Army might produce some alteration that might be use- *Affairs at*
ful to him, heard of his entire submission to the Parliament, *Brussels du-*
and of his entering the City, and disarming it, the Commitment *ring this*
of the principal Citizens, and breaking their Gates and Port- *time.*
cullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished,
and he had nothing left before his Eyes but a perpetual Exile,
attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long
Experience, and which, he must now expect, would be im-
proved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to
wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection
of mind cannot be imagin'd than at that time cover'd the
small Court of the King; but God did not suffer him long to
be wrapp'd up in that melancholic Cloud. As the General's
second march into the City was within two or three days af-
ter his first, and dispell'd the mists and fogs which the other
had raised, so the very Evening of that day which had brought
the News of the first in the Morning, brought likewise an
Account to his Majesty of the second, with all the circum- *The King*
stances of Bells, and Bone-fires, and burning of Rumps, and *bears on the*
such other Additions, as might reasonably be true, and which *same day of*
a willing Relator would not omit. *both the*
marches of
the General
into the City.

WHEN it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of *Ormond* brought a young Man with him to the Chancellor's Lodging at *Brussels*; which was under the King's Bed Chamber, and to which his Majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the dispatch of any Business. The Marquis said no more but "that that Man had formerly been an Officer under him, and he believed he was an honest Man; besides, that he brought a line or two of Credit from a Person they would both believe; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he would call the King to judge; and so went out of the Room leaving the Man there, and immediately return'd with the King.

THE Man's name was *Baily*; who had liv'd most in *Ireland*, and had serv'd there as a Foot Officer under the Marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little: his Relation was, "that in the Afternoon of such a day, he was with *Sr John Stephens* in *Lambeth House*, used then as a Prison for many of the King's Friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, News was brought into the House by several Persons, that the General was march'd with his whole Army into the City (it being within two or three days after he had been there, and broke down their Gates, and pull'd down their Posts) and that he had a conference with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was no sooner ended, but that all the City Bells rang out; and He heard the Bells very plain at *Lambeth*: and that he staid there so late, till they saw the Bone-fires burning and flaming in the City: upon which *Sr John Stephens* had desired him, that he would immediately cross the River, and go into *London*, and inquire what the matter was; and if he found any thing extraordinary in it, that he would take Post, and make all possible hast to *Brussels*, that the King might be inform'd of it; and so gave him a short Note in Writing to the Marquis of *Ormond*, that he might believe all that the Messenger would inform him: that thereupon he went over the River, walked through *Cheapside*, saw the Bone-fires, and the King's health drank in several places, heard all that the General had done, and brought a Copy of the Letter which the General had sent to the Parliament, at the time when he return'd with his Army into the City; and then told many things, which were, he said, "publickly spoken, concerning sending for the King: that then he took Post for *Dover*, and hired a Bark that brought him to *Ostend*.

THE time was so short from the hour he left *London*, that the expedition of his Journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the

the most important Affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some Repetitions, that the Man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his Relation could not be a meer fiction and imagination. *St John Stephens* was a Man well known to his Majesty, and the other two; and had been sent over lately by the King, with some advice to his Friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his Landing, and was sent Prisoner to *Lambeth House*. And though he had not mention'd in his Note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the Man's own Devotion to the King could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a Journey. Then the General's Letter to the Parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feign'd; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had Argument to raise his own Spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his Intelligence to his dispirited Family, and Servants; who, upon the News thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallow'd; and, according to the temper of Men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their Sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such vast hopes, as would be very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for.

BUT the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refresh'd with this unexpected Alteration, was yet restrain'd from any confidence that this would produce any such Revolution as would be sufficient to do his work; towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any Foreign power. The most that he could collect from the General's Letter, besides the suppressing the present Tyranny of the Rump-Parliament, was, that, possibly, at last the excluded Members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this Administer'd no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majesty. Several of those excluded Members had not been true Members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of the War, into Their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit Great Seal had given them, without, and against the King's Authority. It was thought these Men, with others who had been Lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the Concessions made by the late King at the Isle of *Wight* might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much establish a Republican Government, as was settled after his Murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are

formerly mention'd, excluded from the House ; without which that horrid Villany could never have been committed.

NOW what could the King reasonably expect from these Men's readmission into the Government, but that they would resume their old Conclusions, and press him to consent to his Father's Concessions ? which his late Majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold ; though it was upon the promise of many powerful Men then in the Parliament, " that he should not be obliged to accomplish " that Agreement. These Revolvings wrought much upon his Majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it ; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther Account from *London* of the Revolutions there.

*Many now
apply to the
King.*

*The Council
of State's
kind beha-
viour now to
the King's
Friends.*

INDEED, when all his Majesty had heard before, was confirm'd by several Expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his Friends, who had recover'd their Courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded Members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a New Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the King recover'd his hopes again ; which were every day increased by the Addresses of many Men, who had never before applied themselves to him ; and many sent to him for his Majesty's Approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was dissolv'd, the Council of State behaved themselves very civilly towards his Majesty's Friends, and released many of them out of Prison : particularly *Annesley*, when President of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular Information of His Devotion, and of his Resolution to do him Service ; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the Courage to receive a Letter from his Majesty, and return'd a dutiful Answer to it : all which had a very good aspect, and seem'd to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's Paper, which he had deliver'd at his Conference with the Members ; for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent Affection to a Common-wealth. Few or none of his Majesty's Friends could find any means of address to him ; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the King, " of what importance it would be, that he " gave them some credit, or means of Access to the General, " by which they might receive his Order and Direction in " such things as occur'd on the suddain, and that they might " be

“be sure to do nothing that might cross any purpose of His. To which the King return’d no other Answer, “but that they should have patience, and make no Attempt whatsoever; and that in due time they should receive all Advancements necessary; it being not thought fit to disclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of the General; since it was very evident, that the receiv’d opinion, that he did design to serve the King, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he design’d to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the Advancement of his Majesty’s Service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the Assurance, that the other Party thought they had, that he had no such Intention, hinder’d those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessen’d his credit with his own Army, or united all the rest of the Forces against him.

THERE happen’d likewise at this time a business that very much troubled the King, and might very probably have destroy’d all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, which put an end to all the Power and Authority of those who had been the chief Instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seiz’d upon all who had been the late King’s Judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from the seclud’d Members, as they were to expect if the King himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurr’d with them, and exercised the same power, who were call’d the *Rump*, believ’d their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contriv’d all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the *Rump* Members would again resume the Government, notwithstanding their Dissolution by the power of the seclud’d Members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employ’d their Agents amongst the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who had been disgracefully remov’d from their Quarters in the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent to *London*, to make room for General *Monk*’s Army; which was now look’d upon as the sole Confiding part of the Army. And they inflam’d these Men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the War, should, besides the loss of all the Arrears of Pay due to them, be now offer’d as a sacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had Conquer’d, and who, they suppos’d, were implacably incens’d against them. Nor did they omit to make the same insinuations into the Soldiers of General *Monk*’s Army, who had all the same Title to the same fears

*Lambert's
escape out of
the Tower.*

fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, *Lambert* made his escape out of the Tower; his Party having in all places so many of their Combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General had as great a jealousy of this Man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had Command of the place, were notoriously known neither to love *Lambert's* Person, nor to favour his Designs.

THIS escape of *Lambert* in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great Agony. They knew well what Poyson had been scatter'd about the Army, and what impression it had made in the Soldiers. *Lambert* was the most Popular Man, and had the greatest Influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently publish'd their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and couzen'd them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threaten'd from the very drawing the Army together to a Rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no Man being able to make a judgement what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believ'd, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain conceal'd, till he had digested the Method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the Troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear (which had been very easy then for him to have done) he would have gone near to have shaken at least the Model the General had made.

BUT either through the fear of his security, and being betray'd into the hands of his Enemies (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience) or the presumption, that the Army would obey him upon his first Call; and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for Him; and so put it into his Enemy's power to disappoint, and controule all his designs. He staid not at all in *London*, as it was his Interest to have done, but hasten'd into the Country; and trusting a Gentleman in *Buckingham-shire*, whom he thought himself sure of, the General had quickly notice

notice in what Quarter he was: yet, with great Expedition, *Lambert* drew four Troops of the Army to him, with which he had the Courage to appear near *Daventry* in *Northampton-shire*, a Country famous for disaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the Army, before it should be known at *White-Hall* where he was, and that any Forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many Friends, he should have seasonable Notice.

BUT the General, upon his first secret intimation of his being in *Buckingham-shire*, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel *Ingoldsby* (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon *Lambert*, for his malice to *Oliver* and *Richard* and the affront he had himself receiv'd from him) to attend and watch all his Motions with his own Regiment of Horse, which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by *Lambert* to desert him. *Ingoldsby*, being joyn'd with a good Body of Foot under Colonel *Streater*, used so much diligence in waiting upon *Lambert's* Motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of *Lambert's* four Captains fell into the hands of his Forlorne hope; who made him Prisoner, and brought him to their Colonel. The Captain was very well known to *Ingoldsby*; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, "that he would himself retire to his House, and lend his Troop to obey his Commands; which promise he observ'd; and the next day his Troop, under his Cornet and Quarter-Master, came to *Ingoldsby*, and inform'd him where *Lambert* was. He thereupon made hast, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

LAMBERT, surpris'd with this discovery, and finding that one of his Troops had forsaken him, saw his Enemy much superior to him in Number; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. *Lambert* propos'd to him, "that they might restore *Richard* to be Protector; and promis'd to unite all his Credit to the Support of that Interest. But *Ingoldsby* (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that Undertaking) had devoted himself to a better Interest; and adher'd to the General, because he presum'd that He did intend to serve the King, and so reject'd this Overture. Whereupon both Parties prepared to Fight, when another of *Lambert's* Troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his Enemy, he concluded, that his Safety would depend upon his Flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his Horse.

But

Lambert
and his party
dispersed.
He and o-
thers taken.

But *Ingoldsby* keeping his Eye still upon him, and being as well Horsed, overtook him, and made him his Prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

WITH him were taken *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and some other Officers of the greatest Interest with the Fanatick part of the Army, and who were most apprehended by the General, in a time when all the ways were full of Soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appear'd very formidable. *Ingoldsby* return'd to *London*, and brought his Prisoners to the Privy Council; who committed *Lambert* again to the Tower with a stricter Charge, with some other of the Officers; and sent the rest to other Prisons. This very seasonable Victory look'd to all Men, as a happy Omen to the succeeding Parliament; which was to assemble soon after the Prisoners were brought before the Council; and would not have appear'd with the same chearfulness, if *Lambert* had remain'd still in Armes, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

The Parlia-
ment's and
Council of
State's pru-
dent Affi-
ons.

Before the
Assembling
of the New
Parliament
they release
Sir George
Booth, &c.

IN this short Interval between the return of the secluded Members, and the Convention of the new Parliament, many prudent Actions and Alterations (besides what have been already mention'd) were begun by that Parliament, before it was dissolv'd, and finish'd afterwards by the Council of State; which were good Presages, that the future Councils would proceed with Moderation. They released *Sr George Booth* from his Imprisonment, that he might be Elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's Party who had shelter'd themselves in obscurity, appear'd now abroad, and conversed without controule; and *Mr Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the Council, and some Officers of the Army, as *Ingoldsby* and *Huntington*, &c. made, through Him, tender of their Services to the King.

They reform
the Navy
by making
Monk and
Mountague
Admirals.

BUT that which seem'd of most importance, was the reformation they made in the Navy; which was full of Sectaries, and under the Government of those who of all Men were declared the most Republican. The present Fleet prepared for the Summer Service, was under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Lawson*; an excellent Sea-man, but then a notorious Anabaptist; who had fill'd the Fleet with Officers, and Mariners, of the same principles. And they well remember'd, how he had lately besieged the City; and, by the power of his Fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the Committee
of

of *Safety*, and restore the Rump-Parliament to the exercise of their Jurisdiction; for which he stood high in Reputation with all that Party. The Parliament resolv'd, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove *Lawson*, yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to Controle Them, as he had done *the Committee of Safety*. In order to this they concluded, that they would call *Mountague*, who had lain privately in his own House, under a Cloud, and Jealousy of being inclined too much to the King, and make Him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joynt Admirals of the Fleet; whereby *Mountague* only would go to Sea, and have the Ships under his Command; by which he might take care for good Officers, and Seamen, for such other Ships as they meant to add to the Fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. *Mountague* sent privately over to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept the Charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to *London*, and enter'd into that joynt Command with the General; and immediately applied himself to put the Fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no Man who betook himself to his Majesty's Service with more generosity than this Gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the King.

MOUNTAGUE was of a Noble Family, of which some were too much addiched to Innovations in Religion, and in the beginning of the Troubles, appear'd against the King; though his Father, who had been a long Servant to the Crown, never could be prevail'd upon to swerve from his Allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only Son within those limits: but being young, and more out of his Father's Controle by being Married into a Family, which, at that time, also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the Careffes of *Cromwell*, that, out of pure Affection to him, he was perswaded to take Command in the Army, when it was new Modell'd under *Fairfax*, and when he was little more than twenty years of Age. He serv'd in that Army in the Condition of a Colonel to the end of the War, with the Reputation of a very stout and sober young Man. And from that time *Cromwell*, to whom he passionately adher'd, took him into his nearest Confidence, and sent him, first, joynd in Commission with *Blake*; and then, in the sole Command by Sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though Men looked upon him as devoted to *Cromwell's* Interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all Men, and without the least shew of Acrimony towards any who had serv'd the King; and was so much in love with Monarchy,

An account
of Admiral
Moun-
tague.

chy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised *Cromwell* to accept, and assume that Title, when it was offer'd to him by his Parliament. He was design'd by him to Command the Fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the *Sound* between the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but was, in truth, to hinder the *Dutch* from assisting the *Dans* against the *Swedes*; with whom *Oliver* was engaged in an inseparable Alliance. He was upon this Expedition, when *Richard* was scornfully thrown out of the Protector-ship; and was afterwards joyn'd (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that Command) with *Algernon Sidney*, and the other Plenipotentiaries which the Rump-Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. As soon as *Richard* was so cast down, the King thought *Montague's* relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his Service.

THERE accompanied him at that time *Edward Montague*, the eldest Son of the Lord *Montague* of *Boughton*, and his near Kinsman; with whom he had a particular Friendship. This Gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good Affections and Resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant Voyage, only to dispose his Cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to Serve his Majesty. At this time *Sr George Booth* appear'd, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole Kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the Government. And it was now thought a very seasonable Conjecture to make an experiment, whether *Montague* with his Fleet would declare for the King.

THE Chancellor thereupon prepared such a Letter in his own Name, as his Majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the time, and the determination of all those Motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He inform'd him of "*Sr George Booth's* being possessed of *Chester*, "and in the head of an Army; and that his Majesty was assured of many other Places; and of a general Combination "between Persons of the greatest Interest, to declare for the "King; and that, if he would bring his Fleet upon the "Coast, his Majesty, or the Duke of *York*, would immediately be on Board with him. This Letter was inclosed in another to *Edward Montague*, to be by him deliver'd, or Not deliver'd, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an Express, who was then thought not to be without some Credit with the Admiral himself; which did not prove true.

However, the Messenger was diligent in prosecuting his Voyage, and arriv'd safely at *Copenhagen* (where the Fleet lay; and where all the Plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his Letter to the Person to whom it was directed; who, the same Night, deliver'd the other to his Cousin. He receiv'd it chearfully, and was well pleas'd with the hopes of suddain Revolutions in *England*.

THEY were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the Messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the Fleet, where though he had had good Command, he had no Credit; and had appear'd so publickly, by the folly of Good-fellowship, that the Admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any Letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the Admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his Errand. But *Edward Mountague* writ such a Letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any Service that the Admiral could perform for him. With this Answer the Messenger return'd to *Brussels*, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

WITHIN few days after this Messenger's withdrawing from *Copenhagen*, of whose being there the Plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolv'd to require of the King of *Denmark*, that he might be committed to Prison, Admiral *Mountague* declared, "that he should not be able to stay longer there for the want of Victual; of which he had not more than would serve to carry him home; and therefore desired, that they would press both Kings, and the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, to finish the Negotiation. By this time the News of the Commotions in *England* made a great noise, and were reported, according to the Affections of the Persons who sent Letters thither, more to the King's advantage than there was reason for; and the other Plenipotentiaries came to know, that the Man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with *Edward Mountague*; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleas'd them, was no stranger to that Negotiation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirm'd, when they saw him with his Fleet under Sail, making his course for *England*, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret Authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his Inclination) to have secur'd his Person on Board his own Ship, and to have disposed

disposed of the Government of the Fleet; of which being thus prevented they could do no more than send Expresses over Land, to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

WHEN the Fleet arriv'd near the Coast of *England*, they found *St George Booth* defeated, and all Persons who pretended any affection for the King, so totally crushed, and the Rump Parliament in so full exercise of it's Tyrannical power, that the Admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "by his scarcity of Victual, which must have failed, if he had staid till the Winter had shut him up in the *Sound*; and his return was resolv'd upon the joyn't Advice of the Flag-Officers of the Fleet; there being not a Man but his Cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the Parliament, and laid down his Command, they deferr'd the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had receiv'd from their Commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of *Lambert*; so that *Montague* went quietly into the Country, and remain'd neglected and forgotten, till those Revolutions were over which were produced by *Lambert's* Invasion upon the Parliament, and General *Monk's* march into *England*, and till near the time that the Name and Title of that Parliament was totally abolished, and extinguished; and then the secluded Members being restored call'd him to resume the Command of the Fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

THIS, together with the other good Symptoms in the State, rais'd his Majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his Majesty, of the General, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *aktum silentium*; no Persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

*The General's
Counsels as
this time,* THE General was weary and perplexed with his unweildy Burthen, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with Persons of every Interest, the King's Party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the City, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other Persons of Quality and Consi-

deration,

deration, that the People did generally wish for the King; and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled Peace in the Nation, that did not comprehend His Interest, and compose the prejudice that was against His Party. But then there must be strict Conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his Majesty's Power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne Arms against him, but such who had purchased the Lands of the Crown, or of Bishops, or of Delinquents, and no body spoke more favourably, than for the confirming all that had been offer'd by his Father in the Isle of *Wight*.

WHETHER by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at *Northumberland House* in a Conference with that Earl, the Earl of *Manchester*, and other Lords, and likewise with *Hollis*, *Sr William Waller*, *Lewis*, and other eminent Persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the Heads and Governours of the moderate Presbyterian Party; who, most of them, would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full Rights; and the Church to it's Possessions. In this Conference, the King's Restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Satisfaction of the People; and the question seem'd only to be, upon what terms they should admit Him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe Conditions. In this whole Debate, the General insisted upon the most rigid Propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the Lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from Restoring the King, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgement of the temper of it. And the General, though he consulted with those of every Faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely with *Sr Arthur Haslerig*, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and looked upon as the Chief of that Republican Party, which desired not to preserve any face of Government in the Church, or Uniformity in the publick Exercise of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others, who were of different affections; very wary in their discourses with the General, and jealous of his Inclinations.

THERE was, at this time, in much conversation, and trust with the General, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, of a fair Estate and Reputation, one *Mr William Morrice*, a Person of a retired Life, which he spent in Study, being Learned and of good Parts; and he had been always looked upon as a Man

far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for Him; which they who knew him best, believ'd him to have in a good measure. This Gentleman was ally'd to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his Estate in that Country, where, by the death of his elder Brother without Heirs Male, he inherited a fair Fortune. And *Morrice*, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, had made haft to *London*, the better to observe how things were like to go. With Him the General consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "he found most Men of Quality and Interest inclined to "call in the King, but upon such Conditions as must be very "ungrateful, if possible to be receiv'd; and the *London* Ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the Covenant being new Printed, and, by Order fixed up in all Churches, they, in their Sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the People should return to their Allegiance.

THAT which wrought most upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all Counties for Members to serve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular Affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the Murther of his Father, and detest the Government that succeeded: so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrain'd or controled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to Him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deserv'd nothing.

Mr *MORRICE* was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the Affections of the West, "where the King's Restoration was, he said, "so impatiently "longed for, that they had made choice of few or no Members to serve for *Cornwall*, or *Devonshire*, but such, who, "they were confident, would contribute all they could to invite the King to return. And when that Subject was once "upon the Stage, They who concurr'd with most frankness, "would find most credit; and They who opposed it, would "be overborne with lasting reproach. When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolv'd to advance that design; and so consulted with his Friend how he might manage it in that manner, before the Parliament should assemble, that what follow'd might be imputed to His Counsels, and Contrivance.

THERE was then in the Town a Gentleman well known

to be a Servant of eminent Trust to the King, *Sr John Greenvil*, who, from the time of the Surrender of *Silly*, had enjoy'd his Estate, and sometimes his Liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected Person, often restrain'd. He had been privy to the sending to the General into *Scotland* the Clergy-man, his Brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his Majesty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all Intimacy with *Mr Moriaunt*; who most immediately corresponded with *Brussels*. This Gentleman was of a Family to which the General was ally'd; and he had been obliged to his Father, *Sr Bevil Greenvil*; who lost his Life at the Battle of *Lansdown* for the King, and by his Will had recommended his much impair'd Fortune, and his Wife and Children, to the care and counsel of his Neighbour and Friend, *Mr Morrice*; who had executed the Trust with the utmost Fidelity and Friendship.

THE General was content, that *Sr John Greenvil* should be trusted in this great Affair, and that *Mr Morrice* should bring him secretly to him in a private Lodging he had in *St James's*. When he came to him, after he had solemnly con-
Greenvil introduced to the General by Mr. Morrice.

jured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his Life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the King; with whom, he presumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write to the King, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with *Mr Morrice*, and to take short Memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint. And so he retired hastily out of the Room, as if he were jealous that other Men would wonder at his absence.

THAT which *Mr Morrice* Communicated to *Greenvil*, was, after he had enlarged upon "the perplexity the General was in, by the several humours and factions which prevailed; and that he durst not trust any Officer of his own Army, or any Friend but himself, with his own secret purposes; he advised, "that the King should write a Letter to the General; in which, after kind and gracious Expressions, he should desire him to deliver the inclosed Letter, and Declaration to the Parliament; the particular heads, and materials for which Letter, and Declaration, *Morrice* discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all Interests; and to comply with every Man's humour, and indeed to suffer every Man to enjoy what he would.

AFTER *Sr John Greenvil* had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short Memorials for his Memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was

The Trans-
actions be-
tween the
General,
Morrice,
and Green-
vil.

brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the General; to whom he read the short Notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the General said, "that if the King writ to that purpose, when he brought the Letter to him, he would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his Majesty. Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to, which was, his Majesty's present remove out of *Flanders*. He undertook to know, that the *Spaniard* had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his Friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deserr'd it till they discover'd that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his Majesty would make hast to *Breda*, and that, for the publick satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left *Flanders*, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from *Breda*; and he enjoyn'd *St. John Greenvil* "not to return, till he had himself seen the King out of the Dominions of *Flanders*. Thus instructed he left him, who taking *Mr. Mordaunt* with him for the Companion of his Journey, set out for *Flanders* about the beginning of *April* 1660, and in few days arrived safely at *Brussels*.

Thus in-
structed, *St.*
J. Greenvil
goes over to
Brussels
with *Mr*
Mordaunt.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the King, nor of small advantage to him, that the *Spaniard* look'd upon all these *Revolutions* in *England* as the effects of the several animosities, and emulations of the different Factions among themselves; a Contention only between the Presbyterian-Republicans on one side, and the Independent and Levelling Party on the other, for Superiority, and who should steer the Government of the State, without the least reference to the King's Interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced, which side soever prevailed. And therefore *Dan A-lassio*, by his *Irish* Agents (who made him believe any thing) continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their Enemies, he was assured, would make a good Peace with *Spain*; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppress'd, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the King, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such Agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to *Brussels*; and when Instruments of most credit and importance, would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some Person, who was intrusted by him, into *Zealand* to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of Negotiation, which was very expensive, they cared not what Money they disburs'd, whilst they

they neglected the King, and suffer'd him to be without that small supply which they had assign'd to him.

IN this temper were the *Spanish* Ministers, when Mr *Mor-*
dant and Sr *John Greenvil* came to *Brussels*. And Don *Alon-*
zo had so fully possessed the Court at *Madrid* with the same Spirit, that when the Chancellor, in his Letters to Sr *Harry*
Brewer, his Majesty's Resident there, intimated the hopes they
had of a Revolution in *England* to the advantage of the King,
he answer'd plainly, "that he durst not Communicate any of
" those Letters to the Ministers there; who would laugh at
" him for abusing them, since they look'd upon all those hopes
" of the King as imaginary, and without foundation of Sense,
" and upon his condition as most deplorable and absolutely
" desperate.

WHEN Sr *John Greenvil* had at large inform'd his Majesty Sir *John*
of the Affairs of *England*, of the manner of the General's *Greenvil*
conference with him, and the good affection of Mr *Morrice*, *gives the*
and had communicated the Instructions and Advices he had *King an ac-*
receiv'd, as his Majesty was very glad that the General had *counts of his*
thus far discover'd himself, and that he had open'd a door for *Negotiation*
correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon *with the*
many particulars which were recommended to be done; some *General.*
of which he believ'd impossible and unpracticable, as the leav- *The King's*
ing every body in the state they were in, and confirming their *deliberations*
possession in all the Lands which they held in *England, Scot-*
land, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of Lands *upon the*
belonging to the Crown and Church, or such who for adher- *terms pro-*
ing to his Father and himself, were declared Delinquents, and *posed by the*
had their Lands confiscated and disposed of as their Enemies *General.*
had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humours in
Religion, and the granting a general liberty of Conscience,
was a violation of all the Laws in force, and could not be ap-
prehended to consist with the Peace of the Kingdom. No
Man was more disposed to a general Act of Indemnity and
Oblivion than his Majesty was, which he knew, in so long and
universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it
neither consistent with his Honour, nor his Conscience, that
those who had sat as Judges, and condemn'd his Father to be
murder'd, should be comprehended in that Act of Pardon:
yet it was advis'd, "that there might be no Exception; or
" that above Four might not be excepted; because, it was al-
ludg'd, "that some of them had facilitated the General's
" march by falling from *Lambert*, and others had barefaced
" advanced the King's Service very much.

AFTER great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weigh-
ing the importance of complying with the General's advice
in all things which his Conscience and Honour would permit,

his Majesty directed such Letters and Declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the Wishes and Counsel of the General, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general Election of honest and prudent Men, and in some particular Persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the Parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title They assumed, or He gave them, they must have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which They could not be safe, and contented, nor his Majesty obliged.

THE Advice for his Majesty's remove out of *Flanders* presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to *Holland*; where he had been as unkindly used as it was possible for any Gentleman to be. But besides the Authority which the General's advice deserv'd to have, the truth is, his Majesty could remove no whither else. *France* was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the King; and the way thither must be through all the *Spanish* Dominions: *Dunkirk* was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the *English*, from whence he might Embark for *England* upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in *England*, after the Peace between the two Crowns, the King had sent to *Lockhart*, the Governour, and General of the *English* there, by a Person of Honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his Service by the prospect he had of the Revolutions like to ensue (which probably could not but be advantageous to the King) and by the uncertainty of *Lockhart's* own condition upon any such Alterations. The Arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majesty into that Garrison; which might be facilitated by his Majesty's Troops, if he did not think his own Soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the Trust he had receiv'd, and the indecency of breaking it; though, he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the "Council of State; for his relation and alliance to *Cromwell*, "that he expected every day to be removed from that Command; as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his Nature (for he was a Man of parts, and of honour) or from his Jealousy of the Garri-
son,

son, that they would not be disposed by him (for though he was exceedingly belov'd, and obeyed by them, yet they were all *Englisb*-men, and he had none of his own Nation, which was the *Scotish*, but in his own Family) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the King, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offer'd to make him Marshal of *France*, with great appointments of Pensions and other Emoluments, if he would deliver *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* into the hands of *France*; all which Overtures he rejected: so that his Majesty had no place to resort to preferable to *Breda*.

THE King was resolv'd rather to make no mention of the Murderers of his Father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was propos'd: but chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that Affair, without any restriction, to the Confidence of the Parliament; yet with such expressions, and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do Themselves and the Nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that Parricide. And from the time that the secluded Members sat again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious Murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the King to depend upon their Virtue and Justice.

WHEN the Summons were sent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a House of Peers; nor had the General intimated any such thing to *Sr John Greenvil*; nor did *Sr John* himself, or *Mr Mordaunt*, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to pass Them by, but to have a Letter prepared as well for Them as for the House of Commons; and likewise another to the Fleet; and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his Authority.

WHEN all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the King, which he resolv'd to send by *Sr John Greenvil* to the General (*Greenvil's* and *Mordaunt's* being in *Brussels* being unknown; They, attending his Majesty only in the Night at the Chancellor's Lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any) his Majesty visited the Marquis of *Carracena*, and told him, "that he intended "the next day to go to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Breda*, "to spend two or three days with his Sister the Princess of "Orange; to whom the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* were already gone, to acquaint her with the King's purpose; and his Majesty

The Letters prepared to the Parliament, &c.

which the General advised.

The King declares to the Marquis of Carracena

that he intended to

go for some

days to

Breda, to meet his

Sister.

Majesty likewise, in confidence, inform'd him, "that there
 "were some Persons come from *England*, who would not
 "venture to come to *Brussels*, from whom he expected some
 "Propositions and Informations, which might prove benefi-
 "cial to him; which obliged him to make that Journey to
 "confer with them.

THE Marquis seem'd to think That of little Moment; and
 said, "that *Don Alonso* expected every day to receive assu-
 "rance, that the Levellers would unite themselves to the King's
 "Interest, upon more moderate Conditions than they had
 "hitherto made; but desired his Majesty, "that the Duke of
 "*York* might hasten his Journey into *Spain*, to receive the
 "Command that was there reserv'd for him; and the King de-
 "sired him, "that the Forces he had promised for his Service,
 "might be ready against his return to be Embarked upon the
 "first appearance of a hopeful occasion. So they parted; and
 his Majesty went the next day to *Antwerp*, with that small re-
 tinue he used to Travel with.

The Spani-
 ards design
 to seize his
 Majesty,
 discover'd.

HIS departure was some hours earlier than the Marquis
 imagin'd; and the reason of it was this: In that Night, one
 Mr *William Galloway*, an Irish young Man, Page at that time
 to *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, came to the Lord Chancellor's
 Lodgings, and finding his Secretary in his own Room, told
 him, "he must needs speak presently with his Lord; for he
 "had something to impart to him that concern'd the King's
 "life. The Chancellor, though at that time in Bed, order'd
 him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him,
 "that his Lord *Don Alonso* and the Marquis of *Carracosa* had
 "been long together that Evening; and, that himself had
 "overheard them saying something of sending a Guard to at-
 "tend the King: that, about an hour after, they parted; and
 "the Marquis sent a paper to *Don Alonso*; who, when he
 "went to Bed, laid it on his Table: that himself, who lay in
 "his Master's Anti-Chamber, look'd into the Paper, when
 "his Master was in Bed; and, seeing what it was, had brought
 "it the Chancellor: It import'd an Order to an Officer to at-
 tend the King with a Party of Horse, for a Guard wherever
 he went (a respect that never had been paid him before) but
 not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the Town. Af-
 soon as the Chancellor had read the Order, he sent his Secre-
 tary with it to the King; who was in Bed likewise; and his
 Majesty having read it, the Secretary return'd it to *Galloway*;
 who went home, and laid it in its place upon his Master's
 Table. The King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call
 up his Majesty's Querry, *St William Armerer*; and to Him his
 Majesty gave his Orders, charging him with secrecy, "that
 "he would be gone at three of the Clock that Morning: and
 accordingly

accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Sr William Armerer*, and two or three Servants more. Between eight and nine that Morning, an Officer did come and inquire for the King; but it happen'd, by this seasonable discovery, that his Majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small Mortification, no doubt, of the *Spanish* Governour.

As soon as his Majesty came into the States Dominions, *The King* which was about the midway between *Antwerp* and *Breda*, *goes towards* he deliver'd to *Sr John Greenvil* (who attended there *in Breda, and* *cognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, " that *Sr John* " he had seen his Majesty out of *Flanders*) all those dispatches, *Greenvil* which were prepared, and dated, as from *Breda*, upon the *the Letters* same day in which he receiv'd them, and where his Majesty *prepared.* was to be that Night. The Copies of all were likewise deliver'd to him, that the General, upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the Originals, choose whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contain'd therein which he disliked; and his Majesty referr'd it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former Advice.

Sr John Greenvil, before his Departure, told the King, " that though he had no order to propose it directly to his " Majesty; yet he could assure him, it would be the most " grateful and obliging thing his Majesty could do towards the " General, if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as " soon as he came into *England*, he would bestow the Office " of one of the Secretaries of State upon *Mr Morrice*; who " was as well qualified for it, as any Man who had not been " versed in the knowledge of Forreign Affairs. One of those places was then void by the Earl of *Bristol's* becoming Roman Catholick, and thereupon resigning the Signet; and his Majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a Person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good Affection to his Majesty, and directed him to give that Assurance to the General. With these dispatches *Sr John Greenvil*, and *Mr* *Sr John* *Mordaunt*, who privately expected his return at *Antwerp*, made *Greenvil* what hast they could towards *England*; and the King went *and Mr* that Night to *Breda*. The Letters which the King writ to the *Mordaunt* General, and to the House of Commons, and the other *return to-* *wards Eng-* Letters, with the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they land. were sent.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the President, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.

Charles R.

*The Letter
of the King
to the General
and the
Army.*

"TRUSTY, and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It cannot be believ'd, but that We have been, are, and ever must be, as sollicitous as We can, by all endeavours to improve the Affections of Our good Subjects at home, and to procure the Assistance of Our Friends and Allies abroad, for the Recovery of that Right, which, by the Laws of God and Man, is unquestionable; and of which We have been so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances, as We do not desire to aggravate by any sharp Expressions; but rather wish, that the memory of what is past, may be buried to the World. That We have more endeavour'd to prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our Subjects at home for Our Restoration, than to procure Assistance from abroad to Invade either of Our Kingdoms, is as manifest to the World. And We cannot give a better evidence that We are still of the same mind, than in This Conjunction; when common reason must satisfy all Men, that We cannot be without Assistance from abroad, We choose rather to send to you, who have it in your power to prevent that ruin and desolation which a War would bring upon the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happiness, Security, and Glory it shall enjoy, to your Virtue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have comply'd with their obligations, for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land; and that You have vindicated that Trust, which others most perfidiously abused and betray'd. How much We desire, and resolve to contribute to those good Ends, will appear to You by Our inclosed Declaration; which We desire you to cause to be published for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion of precious Christian Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only support it, an Unity of Affections amongst Our selves, an equal Administration of Justice to Men, restoring Parliaments to a full capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the Land to their due Veneration.

"YOU have been your selves Witnesses of so many Revolutions,

"lutions, and have had so much experience, how far any
 "Power and Authority that is only assumed by passion and
 "appetite, and not supported by Justice, is from providing
 "for the Happiness and Peace of the People, or from receiv-
 "ing any Obedience from them (without which no Govern-
 "ment can provide for them) that you may very reasonably
 "believe, that God hath not been so well pleased with the
 "Attempts that have been made, since he hath usually en-
 "creased the Confusion, by giving all the Success that hath
 "been desired, and brought that to pass without effect, which
 "the Designers have proposed as the best means to settle and
 "compose the Nation: and therefore We cannot but hope
 "and believe, that you will concur with Us in the Remedy
 "We have apply'd; which, to human Understanding, is only
 "proper for the ills We all groan under; and that you will
 "make your selves the blessed Instruments to bring this blef-
 "sing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People, it
 "being the usual method in which Divine Providence de-
 "lighteth it self, to use and sanctify those very means, which
 "ill Men design for the satisfaction of private and particular
 "Ends and Ambition, and other wicked purposes, to whole-
 "some and publick Ends, and to establish that Good which is
 "most contrary to the Designers; which is the greatest ma-
 "nifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a Nation that can
 "be given in this World. How far We resolve to preserve
 "your Interests, and reward your Services, We refer to Our
 "Declaration; and We hope God will inspire you to per-
 "form your Duty to Us, and to your Native Country; whose
 "Happiness cannot be separated from each other.

"We have intrusted Our Well-beloved Servant *Sr John
 "Greenwile*, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to
 "deliver this unto You, and to give Us an account of your
 "reception of it, and to desire You, in Our Name, that it
 "may be published. And so We bid you farewell.

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 4th of April 1660, in
 the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty, and Well-beloved, the Speaker of the House
 of Commons.*

Charles R.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In *The Letter
 "these great and insupportable Afflictions and Calamities, un- to the House
 "der which the poor Nation hath been so long exercised, and of Commons.*
 "by which it is so near exhausted, We cannot think of a
 "more natural and proper Remedy, than to resort to those
 "for

“for Counsel and Advice, who have seen and observ’d the
 “first beginning of Our Miseries, the progress from bad to
 “worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings, which have
 “been produced, and contributed to inconveniencies which
 “were not intended ; and after so many Revolutions, and the
 “observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by
 “Our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made,
 “and to provide proper Remedies for these Evils, and for the
 “lasting Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom.

“We do assure You upon Our Royal word, that none of
 “Our Predecessors have had a greater esteem of Parliaments,
 “than We have in Our judgement, as well as from Our ob-
 “ligation ; We do believe them to be so vital a part of the
 “Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Go-
 “vernment of it, that We well know neither Prince nor
 “People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them ;
 “and therefore you may be confident, that We shall always
 “look upon their Councils, as the best We can receive ; and
 “shall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to pre-
 “serve and protect them, as of that which is most near to Our
 “Self, and most necessary for Our own preservation.

“AND as this is Our opinion of Parliaments, that their
 “Authority is most necessary for the Government of the King-
 “dom ; so We are most confident, that you believe, and
 “find, that the preservation of the King’s Authority is as ne-
 “cessary for the preservation of Parliaments ; and that it is
 “not the Name, but the right Constitution of them, which
 “can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils
 “which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby
 “establish their Peace and Security. And therefore We
 “have not the least doubt, but that you will be as tender
 “in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe Our
 “Honour, or impair Our Authority, as of your own Li-
 “berty and Property ; which is best preserv’d by preserving
 “the other.

“How far We have trusted you in this great Affair, and
 “how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all
 “that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath
 “undergone, and to make the King and People as happy as
 “they ought to be ; you will find by Our inclosed Declara-
 “tion ; a Copy of which We have likewise sent to the House
 “of Peers : and you will easily believe, that We would not
 “voluntarily, and of Our Self, have reposed so great a Trust
 “in you, but upon an entire Confidence that you will not
 “abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and
 “with such due consideration of Us who have trusted You,
 “that We shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance
 “(which

“(which We have assurance of) and repairing to You for
 “more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We would
 “be freed from; nor sorry, that We have bound up Our own
 “Interests so entirely with that of Our Subjects, as that We
 “refer it to the same Persons to take care of Us, who are
 “trusted to provide for Them. We look upon You as wise
 “and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise
 “up those Banks and Fences which have been cast down,
 “and who will most reasonably hope, that the same prof-
 “perity will again spring from those Rooms, from which it
 “hath heretofore and always grown; nor can We appre-
 “hend that you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any
 “thing from Us, but what We are as ready to give, as You
 “to receive.

“If You desire the Advancement and Propagation of the
 “Protestant Religion, We have, by Our constant profession,
 “and practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the world,
 “that neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith to-
 “wards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a
 “contrary profession (of both which We have had an abun-
 “dant Evidence) could in the least degree starve Us, or make
 “Us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to mani-
 “fest Our Zeal and Affection for it, to which We will not
 “readily consent. And We hope, in due time, Our Self to
 “propose somewhat to You for the Propagation of it, that will
 “satisfy the world, that We have always made it both Our
 “care and Our study, and have enough observ’d what is most
 “like to bring disadvantage to it.

“If You desire security for those who, in these Calamitous
 “times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those
 “bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each o-
 “thers Rights, We have left to you to provide for their Se-
 “curity and Indemnity, and in such a way, as you shall think
 “just and reasonable; and by a just compensation of what Men
 “have done, and suffer’d, as near as is possible, to take care
 “that all Men be satisfied; which is the surest way to sup-
 “press, and extirpate all such Uncharitableness and Animosity,
 “as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace, which for
 “the present might seem established. If there be a crying
 “Sin, for which the Nation may be involv’d in the infamy
 “that attends it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as sol-
 “licitous to redeem it, and vindicate the Nation from that
 “Guilt and Infamy, as We can be.

“If You desire that Reverence and Obedience may be
 “paid to the fundamental Laws of the Land, and that Justice
 “may be equally and impartially administer’d to all Men, it
 “is that which We desire to be sworn to Our Self, and
 “that

“that all Persons in Power and Authority should be so too.

“IN a word, there is nothing that you can propose that may make the Kingdom happy, which We will not contend with You to compass; and upon this Confidence and Assurance, We have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see Our Heart; which, when God shall bring Us nearer together (as We hope he will do shortly) will appear to you very agreeable to what We have professed; and We hope, that We have made that right Christian use of Our Affliction, and that the observation and experience We have had in other Countries, have been such, as that We, and, We hope, all Our Subjects, shall be the better for what We have seen and suffer'd.

“We shall add no more, but Our Prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your Counsels, and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and Worship may be provided for; and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of the Nation, may be establish'd upon those foundations which can best support it. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Breda, this 17th day of April 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

His Majesty's Declaration.

Charles R.

The King's Declaration. “CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England; Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the general distraction, and confusion, which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a desire, and longing, that those Wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, We have thought it Our Duty to declare, how much We desire to contribute thereunto: and that, as We can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that Right, which God and Nature hath made Our due; so We do make it Our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to Us, and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put Us into a quiet, and peaceable Possession of that Our Right, with as little blood and damage to Our People as is possible; nor do We desire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted and deserv'd. “AND

“AND to the end that fear of punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, and Peers, and People, to their just, ancient, and fundamental Rights; We do by these presents declare, that We do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are ready, upon demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any Publick Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Those only excepted, let all Our Subjects, how Faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no Crime whatsoever committed against Us, or Our Royal Father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgement, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least indamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest of Our best Subjects; We desiring, and ordaining, that henceforward all Notes of discord, separation, and difference of Parties, be utterly abolish'd among all Our Subjects; whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under Our Protection, for the Resettlement of Our just Rights, and Their's, in a free Parliament; by which, upon the word of a King, we Will be advised.

“AND because the passion and uncharitableness of the Times, have produced several opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences; and that no Man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of Religion which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offer'd to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

“AND because in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and Others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon se-

"veral Titles; We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determin'd in Parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all Men who are concern'd.

"AND We do farther declare, that We will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General Monk; and that they shall be receiv'd into Our Service upon as good pay, and conditions, as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at Our Court at Breda, the 11th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

Charles R.

*His Majesty's
Letter to the
House of
Lords.*

"RIGHT Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins, and Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousins, and Trusty and Right Well-beloved; We greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise Our self an end of Our common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our own just Power and Authority will, with God's blessing be restored to Us, than that You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your Birth, and the fundamental Laws of the Land: and We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your Help, in the Composing the confounding disorders and distractions of the Kingdom; in which Your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our self; and therefore You cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in You, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; which Trust, We are most confident you will discharge with that Justice, and Wisdom, that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your experiences how one violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for Your selves: and then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good Success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness, and Honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that foundation which can only support it; and We shall be all happy in each other; and as the whole Kingdom will bless God for You all, so We

“shall hold our self obliged in an especial manner to thank You
 “in particular, according to the Affection You shall express to-
 “wards Us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this Sub-
 “ject, because We have likewise writ to the House of Corn-
 “mons; which We suppose they will communicate to you:
 “And We pray God to bless your joynt Endeavours for the
 “good of Us all. And so We bid you very heartily farewell.

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 4th day of April, 1660,
 in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, and Ge-
 neral Mountague, Generals at Sea, to be communicated
 to the Fleet.*

Charles R.

“TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well. It is *His Majesty's*
 “no small comfort to Us, after so long and great Troubles *Letter to the*
 “and Miseries, which the whole Nation hath groaned *Fleet.*
 “under; and after so great Revolutions, which have still increas-
 “ed those Miseries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which
 “are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command
 “of two Persons so well disposed to, and concern'd in, the
 “Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as We believe You
 “to be; and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Com-
 “mand, are more inclined to return to their duty to Us, and
 “put a period to these distempers and distractions, which
 “have so impoverish'd, and dishonour'd the Nation, than to
 “widen the Breach, and to raise their Fortunes by rapine and
 “violence; which gives Us great encouragement and hope,
 “that God Almighty will heal the Wounds by the same
 “Plaster that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in the
 “same Method in pouring his Blessings upon Us, which he was
 “pleased to use, when he began to afflict us; and that the ma-
 “nifestation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Sea-men
 “towards Us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Pro-
 “logue to that Peace, which was first interrupted by the Mi-
 “stake and Misunderstanding of their Predecessors; which
 “would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that We should not
 “be less delighted with the manner, than the matter of it.

“IN this hope and confidence, We have sent the inclosed
 “Declaration to you; by which you may discern, how much
 “We are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the ge-
 “neral and Publick Peace: in which, as no Man can be more,
 “or so much, concern'd, so no Man can be more solicitous
 “for it. And We do earnestly desire you, that you will cause
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“ the said Declaration to be published to all the Officers and
 “ Sea-men of the Fleet ; to the end, that they may plainly di-
 “ scern, how much We have put it into Their power to pro-
 “ vide for the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, who have
 “ been always understood by them to be the best and most
 “ proper Counsellors for those good ends : and You are like-
 “ wise farther to declare to them, that We have the same
 “ gracious purpose towards Them, which We have expressed
 “ towards the Army at Land ; and will be as ready to provide
 “ for the payment of all Arrears due to them, and for reward-
 “ ing them according to their several Merits, as We have ex-
 “ pressed to the other ; and We will always take so particular
 “ a care of them and their Condition, as shall manifest Our
 “ kindness towards them. And so depending upon God’s
 “ Blessing, for infusing those good Resolutions into Your, and
 “ Their Hearts, which are best for Us all ; We bid you fare-
 “ wel.

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660,
 in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Alder-
 men, and Common Council, of Our City of London.*

Charles R.

*His Majesty’s
 Letter to the
 Lord Mayor
 and Alder-
 men of the
 City of
 London.*

“ TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well. In
 “ these great Revolutions of late, happen’d in that Our King-
 “ dom, to the wonder and amazement of all the world, there
 “ is none that We have look’d upon with more comfort, than
 “ the so frequent and publick manifestations of their Affecti-
 “ ons to Us in the City of *London* ; which hath exceedingly
 “ raised Our Spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded
 “ from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary Mercy to the
 “ Nation ; which hath been encouraged by You, and your
 “ good Example, to assert that Government under which it
 “ hath, so many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as
 “ any Nation in *Europe* ; and to discountenance the Imagina-
 “ tions of those who would subject Our Subjects to a Govern-
 “ ment they have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride and
 “ ambition of a few ill Men, would introduce the most Arbi-
 “ trary and Tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How
 “ long We have all suffer’d under those and the like devices,
 “ all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the
 “ *English* Nation ; which We hope is now providing for its
 “ own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer be-
 “ witch’d by those Inventions.

“ How desirous We are to contribute to the obtaining the
 “ Peace

"Peace and Happiness of our Subjects without effusion of blood;
 "and how far We are from desiring to recover what belongs
 "to Us by a War, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to
 "you by the inclosed Declaration ; which, together with this
 "Our Letter, We have intrusted Our Right Trusty and Well-
 "beloved Cousin, the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt*, and Our
 "Trusty and Well-beloved Servant, Sr *John Greenvil* Knight,
 "one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to
 "you ; to the end, that You, and all the rest of Our good
 "Subjects of that Our City of *London* (to whom We desire it
 "should be published) may know, how far We are from the
 "desire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Secu-
 "rity of the Kingdom, should be raised upon any other founda-
 "tion than the affections and hearts of Our Subjects, and
 "their own Consents.

"We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these
 "Our Condescensions, or of your Zeal to advance and pro-
 "mote the same good end, by disposing all Men to meet Us
 "with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the fun-
 "damental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and
 "upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends.
 "And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full
 "share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our par-
 "ticular affection to you. It is very natural for all Men to do
 "all the good they can for their Native Country, and to ad-
 "vance the honour of it ; and as We have that full Affection
 "for the Kingdom in general, so We would not be thought
 "to be without some Extraordinary kindness for Our Native
 "City in that particular ; which We shall manifest on all oc-
 "casions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming
 "all those Privileges which they have receiv'd from Our Pre-
 "decessors, but by adding and granting any new Favours,
 "which may advance the Trade, Wealth, and Honour of that
 "Our Native City ; for which We will be so solicitous, that
 "We doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive some
 "Benefit and Advantage in all those respects, even from Our
 "own observation and experience abroad. And We are most
 "confident, We shall never be disappointed in Our expecta-
 "tion of all possible Service from your Affections : And so
 "We bid you farewell.

*Given at Our Court at Breda, the 4th day of April, 1660,
 in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

Sir John
Greenvil
arrives in
England,
and commu-
nicates the
Letter to the
General.

The General's
behaviour
after that
time.

THE two Gentlemen lately mention'd to have been with the King return'd to *London* before the defeat of *Lambert*, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the Copies of the several dispatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remember'd for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King; and though he was offer'd all the Authority that *Cromwell* had enjoyed, and the Title of King, he us'd all his endeavours to promote and advance the Interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retained the Secret, and did not Communicate to any Person living (*Mr Morrice* only excepted) that he had receiv'd any Letter from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

Declara-
tions of the
King's party
at this time;
which had
great effect.

THERE happen'd at the same time a concurrence, which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction that hinder'd the Universal consent to call in the King, was the Conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful, and barbarous usage, which all the Royal Party had sustain'd, and the Apprehension that their Animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon and Indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that They who had been kept under, and oppress'd for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the King's Restoration, with extreme Licence and Insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet Persons of the King's Party caused a Declaration to be prepared; in which (after their acknowledgements and thanks to the General, "for having, next under the Divine Providence, so far
"conducted these Nations towards a happy recovery of their
"Laws, and Ancient Government) they sincerely profess'd,
"that they reflected on their past Sufferings as from the hand
"of God; and therefore did not cherish any violent thoughts
"or inclinations against any Persons whatsoever, who had
"been any way instrumental in them; and that, if the indis-
"cretion of any particular Persons should transport them to
"Expressions contrary to this their general Sense, they utterly
"disclaimed them. They farther promised, "by their quiet
"and peaceable behaviour, to testify their submission to the
"Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament;
"on whose wisdom, they trusted, God would give such a
"Blessing, as might produce a perfect Settlement both in
"Church and State. And lastly they declared, "that, as the
"General had not chosen the sandy foundations of Self-Gov-
"ernment, but the firm Rock of National Interest, where-
"on to frame a settlement, so it was their hope and prayer,
"that,

“that, when the building should come to be raised, it might
 “not, like *Rome*, have the beginning in the blood of Brethren;
 “nor, like *Babel*, be interrupted by confusion of Tongues;
 “but that all might speak one Language, and be of one Name;
 “that all mention of Parties and Factions, and all Rancor
 “and Animosities may be thrown in, and buried, like Rubbish
 “under the Foundation.

THESE professions, or to the same purpose, under the Title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had served the late King, or his present Majesty, or adhered to the Royal Party in such a City or County, which was named, were Signed by all the considerable Persons therein; as This that We have here mention'd, was subscribed by great Numbers in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and so were several others from other places; and then all Printed with their Names, and published to the view of the world; which were receiv'd with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good Understanding between them.

NOTHING hath been of late said of *Ireland*; which wait-^{The Affairs}ed upon the dictates of the Governing Party in *England* with of *Ireland* the same giddiness. The *Irish*, who would now have been ^{for some} glad to have redeem'd their past Miscarriages and Madness by ^{years past till} doing Service for the King, were under as severe a Captivity, ^{this time.} and compleat Misery, as the worst of their Actions had deserv'd, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them Transported into Foreign parts, for the Service of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that Number consumed by the Plague and Famine, and Severities exercised upon them in their own Country; the remainder of them had been by *Cromwell* (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the Province of *Connaught*; and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the *Irish*, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assign'd to them within that Circuit. Such a proportion of Land was allotted to every Man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal Releases of all their pretences and titles to any Lands in any other Provinces, of which they had been depriv'd; and if they refused to give such Releases, they were still depriv'd of what they would not Release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the Limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and They who did adventure, were without all remorse prosecuted by the *English*, as soon as they were discover'd: so

that very few refused to sign those Releases, or other Acts which were demanded; upon which the Lords and Gentlemen, had such Assignments of Land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their Qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that Province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other Provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by Husbandry raise any thing out of their Lands to support their Lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arriv'd, they were settled, within the Limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard Articles which had been granted, were not punctually observ'd to them; but their proportions restrain'd, and lessen'd by some pretences of the *English*, under some former Grants, or other Titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compell'd to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a Conquer'd Nation; which reproach the *Irish* had taken so heavily from the Earl of *Strafford*, when they were equally free with the *English*, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that Charge upon which he lost his Life.

UPON the recalling, and tame Submission of *Harry Cromwell* to the Rump-Parliament, as soon as his Brother *Richard* was deposed, the Factions encreased in *Ireland* to a very great height, as well amongst the Soldiers and Officers of the Army, as in the Council of State, and amongst the Civil Magistrates. The Lord *Brogbill*, who was President of *Munster*, and of a very great interest, and influence upon that whole Province, though he had great wariness in discovering his Inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated *Lambert* so much, that he less feared the King; and so wisdled for a safe opportunity to do his Majesty Service; and he had a good Post, and a good Party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

SIR *Charles Coote*, who was President of *Conaught*, and had a good Command, and Interest in the Army, was a Man of less Guilt, and more Courage, and impatience to serve the King. He sent over *Sr Arthur Farbes*, a *Scotish* Gentleman of good Affection to the King, and good Interest in the Province of *Ulster*, where he was an Officer of Horse. This Gentleman *Sr Charles Coote* sent to *Brussels* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that he might assure his Majesty of his Affection
"and Duty; and that, if his Majesty would vouchsafe him-
"self to come into *Ireland*, he was confident the whole King-
"dom

“dom would declare for him : that though the present Power
 “in *England* had remov'd all the sober Men from the Govern-
 “ment of the State, in *Ireland*, under the Character of Pres-
 “byterians; and had put *Ludlow*, *Corbet*, and others of the
 “King's Judges in their places; yet they were so generally
 “odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could
 “seize upon their Persons, and the very Castle of *Dublin*,
 “when they should judge it convenient.

SIR *Arthur Forbes* arriv'd at *Brussels*, before the King had any assurance or confident hope of the General, and when few Men thought his Fortune better than desperate: so that, if what Sr *Arthur* propos'd (which was kept very secret) had been publish'd, most Men about the Court would have been very sollicitous for his Majesty's going into *Ireland*. But his Majesty well knew that that unhappy Kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of *England*; and therefore he resolv'd to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believ'd would produce somewhat, in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed Sr *Arthur Forbes* with such Letters and Commissions as he desired; who thereupon return'd for *Ireland*; where he found the State of Affairs very much alter'd since his departure. For upon the Defeat of *Lambert*, and General *Monk's* marching towards *London*, the Lord *Broughill*, and Sr *Charles Coot*, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joyn'd with such other Persons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always against the King, yet they all concurr'd in seizing upon the Persons who had been put in by *Lambert*, or the Rump Parliament, and submitted to the Orders of General *Monk*, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the King; and so, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at *Westminster*, all things were so well disposed in *Ireland*, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the General, and the Parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

THE Parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of *April*; of which the General was return'd a Member, to serve as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*; Sr *Harbottle Grimston* was chosen Speaker, who had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and continued, rather than concurr'd, with them till after the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; where he was one of the Commissioners sent to Treat with that King, and behav'd himself so well, that his Majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he press'd the acceptance of the King's Concessions; and was thereupon in the Number of those who were by force excluded the House. His Election to be Speaker at this time was con-

*The Parlia-
ment met
April 25.
Sir Harbot-
tle Grim-
stone chosen
Speaker.*

*Their first
Proceedings.*

triv'd by those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter Invectives against the Memory of *Cromwell*, as an odious and perjur'd Tyrant, with Execrations upon the unchristian Murder of the late King. And in these generals they spent the first days of sitting; no Man having the Courage, how Loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the General was of; who could only protect such a Proposition from being penal to the Person that made it, by the former Ordinances of the Rump-Parliament.

*May the
first, the Ge-
neral ac-
quaints the
House of Sir
J. Green-
vil's bring-
ing him a
Letter from
the King.
Sr J. Green-
vil is called
in, and deli-
vers the Let-
ter to the
House of
Commons.*

*Both Letters,
and the De-
claration,
read.*

*Receiv'd
with univer-
sal Joy.*

*A Commis-
sion appointed
to prepare
an Answer.*

*All Order'd
to be printed.*

AFTER the General had well survey'd the temper of the House, upon the first of *May* he came into the House, and told them, "one *Sr John Greenvil*, who was a Servant of the King's, had brought him a Letter from his Majesty; which he had in his hand, but would not presume to open it without Their direction; and that the same Gentleman was at the door, and had a Letter to the House: which was no sooner said, than with a general Acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the Bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the King his Master, having been lately with him at *Breda*, to deliver that Letter to the House: which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the Serjeant to be deliver'd to the Speaker, he withdrew.

THE House immediately call'd to have both Letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily call'd for, and read. And from this time *Charles Stuart* was no more heard of: and so universal a Joy was never seen within those Walls; and though there were some Members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the House, nor with the Argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest; who, not deferring it one Moment, and without one contradicting Voice, appointed a Committee to prepare an Answer to his Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the House had of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that the House would give a speedy Answer to his Majesty's gracious Proposals. They likewise Order'd, at the same time, that both his Majesty's Letters, that to the House, and that to the General, with his Majesty's Declaration therein inclosed, and the Resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith Printed and Published.

THIS

THIS kind of Reception was beyond what the best affected, nay even the King, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The Lords, when they saw what Spirit the House of Commons was possessed of, would not lose Their share of Thanks, but made haſt into their Houſe without excluding any who had been ſequeſter'd from ſitting there for their Delinquency; and then they receiv'd likewise the Letter from *ſr John Greenvil* which his Maſteſty had directed to them; and they receiv'd it with the ſame Duty and acknowledgement. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, were likewise tranſported with the King's goodneſs towards them, and with the Expreſſions of his Royal Clemency; and enter'd into cloſe Deliberation, what return they ſhould make to him to manifeſt their Duty and Gratitude. And the Officers of the Army, and Fleet, upon the ſight of the Letters to their Generals, and his Maſteſty's Declaration, thought themſelves highly honour'd, in that they were looked upon as good Inſtruments of his Maſteſty's Reſtoration; and made thoſe Vows, and publiſhed ſuch Declarations of their Loyalty and Duty, as their Generals cauſed to be provided for them; which they ſign'd with the loudeſt alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the buſineſs, which he now own'd himſelf to have undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his Officers was well known to him, ſo he remov'd ſuch from their Commands whoſe Affections he ſuſpected, and conſerr'd their places upon others, of whom he was moſt aſſured. In a word, there was either real Joy in the Hearts of all Men, or at leaſt their Countenance appear'd ſuch as if they were glad at the Heart.

THE Committee who were appointed by the Houſe of Commons to prepare an Answer to the King's Letter, found it hard to ſaſtify all Men, who were well contented that the King ſhould be invited to return: but ſome thought, that the Guilt of the Nation did require leſs precipitation than was like to be uſed; and that the Treaty ought firſt to be made with the King, and Conditions of Security agreed on, before his Maſteſty ſhould be receiv'd. Many of thoſe, who had conſerr'd together before the meeting of the Parliament, had deſign'd ſome Articles to be prepared, according to the Model of thoſe at *Killingworth*, in the time of King *Henry* the Third, to which the King ſhould be ſworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian Party, of which there were many Members in Parliament, though they were rather Troubleſome than Powerful, ſeem'd very ſollicitous that ſomewhat ſhould be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at leaſt, that ſomewhat ſhould be inſerted in their Answer to the

discoun-

discountenance of the Bishops. But the warmer Zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations: They said, "they had proceeded too far already in their Vote upon the receipt of the Letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder Expressions of their Duty. In the end, after some days debate, finding an equal impatience without the Walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of the Answer, and in using some Expressions which would please Them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that This Answer should be return'd to his Majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

Most Royal Sovereign,

*The Answer
of the House
of Commons
to the King.*

"WE Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto Your Majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of Our hearts, for those gracious Expressions of Piety, and Goodness, and Love to Us, and the Nations under Your Dominion, which your Majesty's Letter of the $\frac{1}{4}$ of *April*, dated from *Breda*, together with the Declaration inclosed in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which We do, in the first place, look up to the great King of Kings, and bless his Name, who hath put these thoughts into the Heart of Our King, to make him glorious in the Eyes of his People; as those great Deliverances, which that Divine Majesty hath afforded unto Your Royal Person, from many dangers, and the support which he hath given to your Heroick and Princely mind under various Tryals, make it appear to all the World that You are precious in His sight. And give Us leave to say, that as your Majesty is pleased to declare Your Confidence in Parliaments, Your Esteem of them, and this Your Judgement, and Character of them, that they are so necessary for the Government of the Kingdom, that neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them, and therefore say, that You will hearken unto their Counsels, be tender of their Privileges, and careful to preserve, and protect them; so We trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to affirm, that your Majesty will not be deceiv'd in Us, and that We will never depart from that Fidelity which We owe unto your Majesty, that Zeal which We bear unto your Service, and a constant endeavour to advance Your Honour and Greatness.

"AND We beseech your Majesty, We may add this farther for the vindication of Parliaments, and even of the last Parliament,

"liament, Conven'd under your Royal Father of happy Me-
 "mory, when, as your Majesty well observes, through mi-
 "stakes, and misunderstandings, many inconveniencies were
 "produced, which were not intended, that those very incon-
 "veniencies could not have been brought upon Us by those
 "Persons who had design'd them, without violating the Par-
 "liament it self. For they well knew it was not possible to
 "do a violence to that Sacred Person, whilst the Parliament,
 "which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safe-
 "ty of that Person, remain'd entire. Surely, Sir, as the Per-
 "sons of Our Kings have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so
 "We cannot think of that horrid Act committed against the
 "precious life of Our late Sovereign, but with such a detesta-
 "tion, and abhorrency, as We want words to express it; and,
 "next to wishing it had never been, We wish it may never
 "be remember'd by your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion
 "of sorrow, as it will never be remember'd by Us, but with
 "that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the
 "greatest reproach that ever was incurr'd by any of the Eng-
 "lish Nation, an Offence to all the Protestant Churches a-
 "broad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of Reli-
 "gion here at home; though both Profession, and true Pro-
 "fessors, and the Nation it self, as well as the Parliament,
 "were most innocent of it; it having been only the Contriv-
 "vance and Act of some few Ambitious and Bloody Persons,
 "and such others, as by Their influence were misled. And
 "as We hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of
 "it, nor of all the evil Consequences thereof, unto the Land,
 "whose Divine Justice never involves the guiltless with the
 "guilty, so We cannot but give due praise to your Majesty's
 "goodness, who are pleas'd to entertain such reconciled, and
 "reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as
 "it were prevent your Parliament and People, proposing
 "your self in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to
 "consider farther, and advise your Majesty, what may be ne-
 "cessary to restore the Nation to what it hath lost, raise up
 "again the Banks and Fences of it, and make the Kingdom
 "happy by the advancement of Religion, the Security of
 "Our Laws, Liberties, and Estates, and the removing all Jea-
 "lousies and Animosities, which may render our Peace less
 "certain and durable. Wherein your Majesty gives a large
 "Evidence of your great Wisdom; judging aright, that, after
 "so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the
 "very foundations, great care must be had to repair the
 "breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to
 "provide things necessary for the strengthening of those re-
 "pairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken
 "them.

"W E

“We shall immediately apply our selves to the preparing
 “of these things ; and in a very short time, We hope to be
 “able to present them to your Majesty ; and for the present
 “do with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your Grace
 “and Favour in assuring Us of your Royal concurrence with
 “Us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you,
 “but what You will be as ready to give, as We to receive.
 “And We cannot doubt of your Majesty’s effectual perfor-
 “mance, since your own Princely judgement hath prompted
 “unto you the necessity of doing such things ; and your piety
 “and goodness, hath carried you to a free tender of them to
 “your faithful Parliament. You speak as a Gracious King,
 “and We will do what befits Dutiful, Loving, and Loyal Sub-
 “jects ; who are yet more engaged to honour, and highly
 “esteem your Majesty, for your declining, as you were pleas-
 “ed to say, all Foreign Assistance, and rather trusting to
 “your People ; who, We do assure your Majesty, will, and
 “do open their Armes and their Hearts to receive you, and
 “will spare neither their Estates, nor their Lives, when your
 “Service shall require it of them.

“AND We have yet more Cause to enlarge our Praise, and
 “our Prayers to God for your Majesty, that You have con-
 “tinued unshaken in your faith ; that neither the temptation
 “of allurements, persuasions, and promises from seducing
 “Papiſts on the one hand, nor the persecution, and hard usage
 “from some seduced, and misguided Professors of the Prote-
 “stant Religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on
 “your Majesty, to make You forsake the Rock of *Israel*, the
 “God of your Fathers, and the true Protestant Religion, in
 “which your Majesty hath been bred ; but you have still
 “been as a Rock Your self, firm to your Covenant with Your
 “and Our God, even now expressing your Zeal and Affection
 “for the Protestant Religion, and your care and study for the
 “propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoycing of heart
 “to all the faithful of the Land, and an Assurance to them
 “that God would not forsake you ; but after many Tryals,
 “which should but make you more precious, as Gold out of
 “the fire, would restore your Majesty unto your Patrimony,
 “and People, with more Splendor and Dignity, and make
 “you the Glory of Kings, and the Joy of your Subjects :
 “which is, and shall ever be, the Prayer of your Majesty’s
 “most Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *England* assembled in
 “Parliament.

Which Letter was sign’d by Sr Harbottle Grimstone Speaker.

*This Answer
 is deliver’d
 to Sir John
 Greenvil.*

AS SOON as this Letter was engrossed and sign’d, *Sr John Greenvil* was appointed to attend again ; and he being brought

to the Bar, the Speaker stood up, and told him, "that They
 " need not acquaint him with what grateful hearts they had
 " receiv'd his Majesty's gracious Letter; he himself was an
 " ear and eye-witness of it: their Bells and their Bone-fires
 " had already begun the Proclamation of his Majesty's good-
 " nefs, and of Their joys; that they had now prepared an
 " Answer to his Majesty, which should be deliver'd to him;
 " and that they did not think fit he should return to their Royal
 " Sovereign without some testimony of their respects to him-
 " self; and therefore that they had order'd five hundred
 " pounds to be deliver'd to him, to buy a Jewel to wear, as
 " an honour for being the Messenger of so gracious a Mes-
 " sage; and in the Name of the House he gave him their most
 hearty thanks. So great and suddain a Change was this,
 that a Servant of the King's, who, for near ten years toge-
 ther, had been in Prisons, and under confinements, only for
 being the King's Servant, and would, but three Months
 before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if
 he had been known to have seen the King, should be now re-
 warded for bringing a Message from him. From this time
 there was such an Emulation and Impatience in Lords, and
 Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, who
 should make the most lively Expressions of their Duty and of
 their Joy, that a Man could not but wonder where those Peo-
 ple dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the King
 so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such
 excellent Subjects.

THE Lords and the Commons now conferr'd together,
 how they might with more Lustre perform those respects that
 might be preparatory to his Majesty's Return. They remem-
 ber'd, that, upon the Murther of the late King, there was a
 Declaration, that no Man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture
 of his Estate, should presume to proclaim his Successor; which
 so terrified the People, that they scarce dared so much as to
 pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parliament had now,
 by all the ways they could think of, published their return to
 their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better
 information and conviction of the People, to make some so-
 lemn Proclamation of his Majesty's undoubted Right to the
 Crown, and to oblige all Men to pay that reverence, and
 duty to him, which they ought to do by the Laws of God
 and of the Land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare
 such a Proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Com-
 mons, the General having concerted all things with the City,
 met in *Westminster-Hall* upon the 8th of *May*, within seven
 days after the receipt of the King's Letter; and walked into
 the *Palace-yard*; where they all stood bare, whilst the He-
 raulds

raulds proclaim'd the King. Then they went to *White-Hall*, and did the same; and afterwards at *Temple-Bar*; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the Companies of the City receiv'd them, when the like Proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the City; which done, the remainder of the Day, and the Night, was spent in those Acclamations, Festivals, Bells and Bonc-fires, as are the natural Attendants upon such Solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his Majesty's Invitation and Reception. The Proclamation made was in these words:

*The King
proclaim'd
May 8.*

"ALTHOUGH it can no way be doubted, but that his Majesty's Right, and Title to his Crown and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the death of his most Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a Proclamation; yet, since Proclamations in such Cases have been always used, to the end that all good Subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and respect, and since the armed violence, and other the Calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived Us of any such opportunity, whereby We might express Our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majesty, We therefore, the Lords and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, and other Freemen of this Kingdom now present, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon the decease of Our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, the imperial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent Birth-right and lawful undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most excellent Majesty *Charles* the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next Heir of the blood Royal of this Realm; and that, by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty God, He is of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, the most Potent, Mighty, and undoubted King; and thereunto We most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige our Selves, our Heirs, and Posterity for ever.

Many Addresses to the King.

FROM the time that the King came to *Breda*, very few days passed without some Expresses from *London*, upon the observations of his Friends, and the Applications made to them by many who had been very active against the King, and were now as solicitous his Majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his Service. Even before the General had declared himself, or the Parliament was Assembled, some, who had sate Judges upon his Father, sent many Ex-

cuses, that they were forced to it, and offer'd to perform signal Services, if they might obtain their Pardon. But his Majesty would admit no Address from them, nor hearken to any Propositions made on their behalf.

THERE was one instance that perplexed him; which was ^{The person- the Case of} Colonel *Ingoldsby*; who was in the Number of ^{lar Case of} the late King's Judges, and whose Name was in the Warrant for his Murther. He, from the depofal of *Richard*, had declared, that he would serve the King, and told Mr *Mordaunt*, "that he would perform all Services he could, without making any conditions; and would be well content, that his Majesty, when he came home, should take his head off, if he thought fit; only he desired that the King might know the truth of his Case; which was this.

HE was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and near ally'd to *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into the Army before, or about the time when he came first to Age, where he grew to be a Colonel of Horse, and to have the Reputation of great Courage against the Enemy, and of equal Civility to all Men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be Judges of the King; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the Action in his Heart, and having no other Passion in any part of the Quarrel, but his personal kindness to *Cromwell*. The next day after the Horrid Sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an Officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted Chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw *Cromwell*, and the rest of those who had fate upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the Warrant for the King's death. As soon as *Cromwell's* Eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the Table; and said, "though he had escaped him all the while before, he should now sign that Paper as well as They; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great Passion; saying, "he knew nothing of the business; and offer'd to go away. But *Cromwell*, and others, held him by Violence; and *Cromwell*, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the Pen between his Fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, "if his Name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be look'd upon as his own hand.

THOUGH his Majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his Pardon; presuming that, if all these Allegations were true, there would be a Season when a distinction would be made, without his Majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of that
Bloody

Bloody Lift, which he resolv'd never to Pardon. Nor was *Ingoldsby* at all dishearten'd with this, but pursu'd his former Resolutions, and first surpris'd the Castle of *Windsor* (where there was a great Magazine of Armes and Ammunition) and put out that Governour whom the Rump had put in; and afterwards took *Lambert* Prisoner, as is before remember'd.

Mountague's Message to the King.

WHILST the Fleet was preparing, Admiral *Mountague* sent his Cousin *Edward Mountague* to the King, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days) he would be himself on Board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majesty's Orders: this was before the Parliament assembled. He sent word what Officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any Assurance of the General, who however, he wish'd, might know nothing of his Resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his Majesty, that he was restrain'd from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all Men, would not permit that liberty to his Majesty.

THE frequent resort of Persons to *Brussels*, before they knew of the King's being gone to *Breda*, and their Communication of the good News they brought to his Majesty's Servants, and the other *English* who remain'd there, and who publish'd what they wish'd as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the *Spanish* Ministers begin to think, that the King's Affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagin'd them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to *Breda* than at first appear'd. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his Majesty to remain in their Dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the King, and that he had staid longer there than he had seem'd to intend to do, the Marquis of *Carracena* sent a Person of prime Quality to *Breda*, "to invite his Majesty to return to *Brussels*; the rather, because he had receiv'd some very "hopeful Propositions from *England*, to which he was not "willing to make any Answer, without receiving his Majesty's "Approbation and Command.

The Marquis of Carracena invites the King back to Brussels.

The King's Answer.

THE King sent him word, "that he was obliged, with reference to his business in *England*, to stay where he was; "and that he was not without hope that his Affairs might suc-

"ceed

“ceed so well, that he should not be necessitated to return
 “to *Brussels* at all. Which Answer the Marquis no sooner
 receiv’d, than he return’d the same Messenger with a kind of *The Marquis*
 Expostulation “for the indignity that would be offer’d to his *invites the*
 “Catholick Majesty, if he should leave his Dominions in such *King again*
 “a Manner; and therefore besought him, either to return *but in vain.*
 “himself thither, or that the Duke of *Tork*, and the Duke of
 “*Glocester*, or at least one of them, might come to *Brus-*
 “*sels*, that the world might not believe, that his Majesty was
 “offended with the Catholick King; who had treated him
 “so well. When he found that he was to receive no satis-
 faction in either of those particulars, though the King, and
 both the Dukes made their excuses with all possible acknow-
 ledgement of the favours they had receiv’d from his Catho-
 lick Majesty, and of the Civilities shewed to them by the Mar-
 quis himself, he reveng’d himself upon *Don Alonso* with a
 million of reproaches, “for his stupidity and ignorance in
 “the Affairs of *England*, and of every thing relating there-
 “unto, after having resided sixteen years Embassadour in that
 “Kingdom.

CARDINAL *Maxarin* had better Intelligence from the *Cardinal Ma-*
French Embassadour in *London*; who gave him diligent Ac- *zarin per-*
counts of every day’s alteration, and of the general imagina- *swades the*
tion that *Monsieur* had other Intentions than he yet discover’d. *Queen Mo-*
And when he heard that the King was remov’d from *Brussels* *ther of Eng-*
to *Breda*, he presently perswaded the Queen Mother of *Eng-*
land to send the Lord *Fermyn* (whom the King had lately *the Lord Jer-*
upon his Mother’s desire, Created Earl of *St Albans*) to in- *myn to in-*
vite the King “to come into *France*; and to make that Trea- *voke the*
“ty, which, probably, would be between the ensuing Par- *King to come*
“liament and his Majesty, in that Kingdom; which might *into France.*
“prove of great use and advantage to her Majesty’s Interest,
“and Honour; in which the power of the Cardinal might
“be of great importance in diverting, or allaying any insolent
“Demands which might be made. And the Cardinal himself
made the same Invitation by that Lord, with professions of
wonderful kindness; and “that the most Christian King was
“infinitely desirous to perform all those Offices and Respects
“to his Majesty, which he had always desired, but was never
“able to accomplish till Now; with this Addition, “that if
“his Majesty found that the expedition of his Affairs would not
“permit him to come to *Paris*, Order and Preparations should
“be made for his reception at *Calais*, or any other place he
“would appoint; where the Queen his Mother would attend
“him; with all other expressions of the highest Esteem;
which the cunning of that great Minister was plentifully sup-
plied with.

*The King's
Answer.*

THE Earl of *St Albans* found the King in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the Instances he brought; and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgements and excuse, "that he could not decently pass through *Flanders*, after he had refused to return to *Brussels*; and without going "through those Provinces, he could not well make a Journey "into *France*. In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his Majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of these two great Kings, to enter into their Dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffer'd to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his Journey.

SEVERAL Persons now came to *Breda*, not, as heretofore to *Cologne*, and to *Brussels*, under disguises, and in fear to be discover'd, but with bare Faces, and the Pride and Vanity to be taken notice of, to present their Duty to the King; some being employ'd to procure Pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good Presents in *English* Gold to the King, that their Names, and the Names of their Friends, who sent them, might be remember'd amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their Affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying his Necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believ'd, and ought not to be remember'd. By these Supplies his Majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his Servants the Arrears of their Board Wages, but to give them all some Testimony of his Bounty, to raise their Spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the King's Letter by the General to the Parliament.

*The States
General congratulate the
King's coming to Breda;
and the States of
Hollandin-
vite him to
the Hague.*

THE King had not been many days in *Breda*, before the States General sent Deputies of their own Body to Congratulate his Majesty's Arrival in their Dominions, and to acknowledge the great Honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other Deputies came from the States of *Holland*, beseeching his Majesty, "that he would Grace that Province "with his Royal Presence at the *Hague*, where Preparations "should be made for his Reception, in such a manner as "would testify the great joy of their Hearts for the blessings "which Divine Providence was pouring upon his Head. His Majesty accepting their invitation, they return'd in order to make his Journey thither, and his Entertainment there, equal to their Professions.

IN the mean time *Breda* swarm'd with *English*, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as *London*, with Presents, and Protestations, "how much they had longed, "and pray'd for this blessed Change; and magnifying their "Sufferings under the late Tyrannical Government; when some of them had been zealous Instruments and Promoters of it. The Magistrates of the Town took all imaginable care to express their Devotion to the King, by using all Civilities towards, and providing for the Accommodation of the multitude of his Subjects, who resorted thither to express their Duty to him. So that no Man would have imagin'd by the treatment he now receiv'd, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the Inhabitants of that good Town, who had always passion for his Prosperity, and even then publickly detested the rudeness of their Superstitions, whom they were bound to Obey.

ALL things being in readiness, and the States having sent their Yachts and other Vessels, for the Accommodation of his Majesty and his Train, as near to *Breda* as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal Sister and Brothers, left that place in the beginning of *May*; and, within an hour, Embarked themselves on Board the Yachts, which carried him to *Rotterdam*; *Dort*, and the other places near which they passed, making all those Expressions of Joy, by the conflux of the People to the Banks of the River, and all other ways, which the Situation of those places would suffer. At *Rotterdam* they enter'd into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they seem'd to pass through one continued Street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the People on both sides, with such Acclamations of Joy, as if Themselves were now restored to Peace and Security.

THE Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there, and the Conducting his Majesty to the House provided for his Entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the Pomp, Wealth, and Greatness of that State. The Treatment of his Majesty, and all who had relation to his Service, at the States Charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the Universal Joy so visible, and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. The States-General, in a Body, and the States of *Holland*, in a Body apart, perform'd their Compliments with all Solemnity; and then several Persons, according to their Faculties, made their professions; and a set Number of them was appointed always to wait in the Court, to receive his Majesty's Commands. All the Embassadors and publick Ministers of Kings,

*The King
removes to
the Hague.*

*The King's
Reception
and Entertain-
ment
there.*

D d d 2

Princes,

Princes, and States, repaired to his Majesty, and professed the joy of their Masters on his behalf: so that a Man would have thought this Revolution had been brought to pass by the general Combination, and Activity of *Christendom*, that appear'd now to take so much pleasure in it.

The English Fleet comes on the Coast of Holland.

THE King had been very few days at the *Hague*, when he heard that the *English Fleet* was in sight of *Scherveling*; and shortly after, an Officer from Admiral *Montague* was sent to the King, to present his Duty to him, and to the Duke of *York*, their High Admiral, to receive Orders. As soon as *Montague* came on Board the Fleet in the *Downs*, and found *Lawson* and the other Officers more frank in declaring their Duty to the King, and Resolution to serve Him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but to be carried by his own Affection and Duty, without expecting any Command from Them, the Wind coming fair, he set up his Sails, and stood for the Coast of *Holland*, leaving only two or three of the lesser Ships to receive their Orders, and to bring over those Persons, who, he knew, were design'd to wait upon his Majesty; which Expedition was never forgiven him by some Men; who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The Duke of York as Admiral takes possession of the Fleet.

THE Duke of *York* went the next day on Board the Fleet, to take Possession of his Command; where he was receiv'd by all the Officers and Sea-men; with all possible Duty and Submission, and with those Acclamations which are peculiar to that People, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving Information of the state of the Fleet, and a Catalogue of the Names of the several Ships, his Highness return'd with it that Night to the King, that his Majesty might make alterations, and new Christen those Ships which too much preserv'd the memory of the late Governours, and of the Republick.

The Ships now named.

The Committee of Lords and Commons arrive at the Hague.

SHORTLY after, the Committee of Lords and Commons arriv'd at the *Hague*; where the States took care for their decent Accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his Majesty; who immediately receiv'd them very graciously. From the House of Peers were deputed six of their Body, and, according to custom, twelve from the Commons. The Peers were, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkley* of *Berkley-Castle*, and the Lord *Brook*. From the Commons were sent, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Castleton*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevil*, *Denzil Hollis*, *Sr Horatio Townsend*, *Sr Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Sr George Booth*, *Sr John Holland*, and *Sr Henry Cholmeley*.

Cholmeley. These Persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the Parliament, "that his Majesty would be pleased to Return, and take the Government of the Kingdom into his hands; where he should find all possible Affection, Duty, and Obedience, from all his Subjects. And lest his Return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of Money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the Parliament the Sum of fifty thousand pounds to his Majesty; having likewise Order to pay the Sum of ten thousand pounds to the Duke of *Tork*, and five thousand to the Duke of *Glocester*; which was a very good Supply to their several Necessities. The King treated all the Committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so Princely, and so generous a Nature.

THE City of *London* had had too great a hand in driving the Father of the King from thence, not to appear equally Zealous for his Son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most Substantial Citizens "to assure his Majesty of their Fidelity, and most cheerful Submission; and that they placed all their Felicity, and hope of future Prosperity in the assurance of his Majesty's Grace and Protection; for the meriting whereof, their Lives and Fortunes should be always at his Majesty's disposal; and they presented to him from the City the Sum of ten thousand pounds. The King told them, "he had always had a particular Affection for the City of *London*, the place of his Birth; and was very glad, that they had now so good a part in his Restoration; of which he was inform'd; and how much he was beholding to every one of them; for which he thanked them very graciously, and Knighted them all; an Honour no Man in the City had receiv'd in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believ'd, that this Money presented to the King by the Parliament and the City, and charged by Bills of Exchange upon the richest Merchants in *Amsterdam*, who had vast Estates, could not be receiv'd in many days, though some of the principal Citizens of *London*, who came to the King, went themselves to sollicite it, and had Credit enough themselves for much greater Sums, if they had brought over no Bills of Exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the King, that it is not easy in that most opulent

opulent City, with the help of all the rich Towns adjacent, and upon the greatest Credit, to draw together a great Sum of ready Money; the Custom of that Country, which flourishes so much in Trade, being to make their Payments in Paper by Assignations; they having very rarely occasion for a great Sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his Majesty was compell'd, that he might not defer the Voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take Bills of Exchange from *Amsterdam* upon their Correspondents in *London*, for above thirty thousand pounds of the Money that was assign'd; all which was paid in *London* as soon as demanded.

*Divers
Presbyterian
Divines
came also.*

WITH these Commissioners from the Parliament and from the City, there came a Company of their Clergy-men, to the Number of eight or ten; who would not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the rest, but being the Popular Preachers of the City (*Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton*; and others, the most eminent of the Presbyterians) desired to be thought to represent that Party. They intreated to be admitted all together to have a formal Audience of his Majesty; where they presented their Duties, and magnified the Affections of themselves and their Friends; who, they said, "had always, according to the obligation of their Covenant, wish'd his Majesty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, inform'd the People of their Duty; which, they presumed, his Majesty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great use to him. They thanked God "for his Constancy to the Protestant Religion; and professed, "that they were no Enemies to moderate Episcopacy; only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's Worship, which in their judgement who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and "by others were held unlawful.

*Their publick
Audience of
the King.*

THE King spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and "that he had no purpose to impose hard Conditions upon them, with reference to their Consciences: that they well knew, he had referr'd the settling all differences of that Nature to the Wisdom of the Parliament; which best knew "what Indulgence and Toleration, was necessary for the "Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. But his Majesty could not be so rid of them; they desired several private Audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, "the Book of Common-Prayer had been long discontinued "in *England*, and the People having been disused to it, and "many of them having never heard it in their Lives, it "would be much wonder'd at, if his Majesty should, at his "first

*And their
private discourses
also with him.*

"first Landing in the Kingdom, revive the use of it in
 "his own Chapel; whither all Persons would resort; and
 "therefore they besought him, that he would not use it en-
 "tirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read,
 "with mixture of other good Prayers, which his Chaplains
 "might use.

THE King told them with some warmth, "that whilst he
 "gave Them liberty, he would not have his own taken from
 "him: that he had always used that form of Service, which
 "he thought the best in the world, and had never disconti-
 "nued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped
 "it was by Them: that when he came into *England* he would
 "not severely inquire how it was used in other Churches,
 "though he doubted not, he should find it used in many; but
 "he was sure he would have no other used in his own Chapel.
 Then they besought him with more importunity, "that the
 "use of the Surplice might be discontinued by his Chaplains,
 "because the sight of it would give great offence, and scandal
 "to the People. They found the King as inexorable in that
 point as in the other; He told them plainly, "that he would
 "not be restran'd Himself, when he gave others so much li-
 "berty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the
 "Church, constantly practiced in *England* till these late ill
 "times; that it had been still retain'd by him; and though
 "he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and
 "undecency in the exercise of God's Worship, he would ne-
 "ver, in the least degree, by his own practice, discounte-
 "nance the good old Order of the Church, in which he had
 "been bred. Though they were very much unsatisfied with
 him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet
 they ceased farther troubling him, in hope, and presumption,
 that they should find their importunity in *England* more ef-
 fectual.

AFTER eight or ten days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs
 and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid if
 all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were
 concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty, the
 King took his leave of the States, with all the professions of
 Amity their Civilities deserv'd; and Embark'd himself on the
Royal Charles; which had been before call'd the *Naseby*, but
 had been new Christen'd the day before, as many others had
 been, in the presence, and by the order of his Royal High-
 ness the Admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of *May*,
 the Fleet set Sail; and, in one continued thunder of Cannon,
 arriv'd near *Dover* so early on the six and twentieth, that his
 Majesty disembark'd; and being receiv'd by the General at Canterbu-
 ry the brink of the Sea (whom he met, and embraced, with
 great

*His Majesty's
 Reply to
 them.*

*The King
 embarks for
 England.
 And the
 Fleet sets
 Sail May 24.
 The King
 arrives and
 lands at
 Dover
 May 26, and
 went to
 Canterbury
 the next
 Night.*

great demonstrations of affection) he presently took Coach, and came that Night to *Canterbury*; where he staid the next day, being *Sunday*; and went to his Devotions to the Cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the People seem'd glad to hear the Common-Prayer again. Thither came very many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, to present themselves to the King; and there his Majesty assembled his Council; and swore the General of the Council, and Mr *Morrice*, whom he there knighted, and gave him the Signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, and likewise to the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton* (who had been elected many years before) and sent it likewise by Garter, Herald and King at Armes, to Admiral *Mountague*, who remain'd in the *Downs*.

May 29. He came thro' the City to White-Hall.

ON *Monday* He went to *Rockester*; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of *May*, and his Birth-day, he enter'd *London*; all the ways thither being so full of People, and Acclamations; as if the whole Kingdom had been gather'd there. Between *Deptford* and *Southwark* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all such Protestations of joy as can hardly be imagin'd. The Concourse was so great, that the King rode in a croud from the Bridge to *White-Hall*; all the Companies of the City standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majesty's presence. He no sooner came to *White-Hall*, but the two Houses of Parliament solemnly cast themselves at his Feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the Joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his Majesty said smilingly to some about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long; for he saw no body that did not protest; he had ever wish'd for his Return.

Where the two Houses waited on him.

The Conclusion of the whole History.

IN this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged near twenty Years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of Murder, Devastation, and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the hands of the most wicked Men in the world, could be Instruments of; almost to the desolation of two Kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

It was but five Months, since *Lambert's* Fanatical Army was scatter'd and confounded, and General *Monk's* march'd into *England*: it was but three Months, since the secluded Members were restored; and, shortly after, the monstrous long Parliament finally dissolv'd, and rooted up: it was but a Month, since the King's Letter's and Declaration were deliver'd to the New Parliament, afterwards call'd the *Convention*;

sion : on the first of *May* they were deliver'd, and his Majesty was at *White-Hall* on the 29th of the same Month.

By these remarkable Steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even make the Scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the Deliverance. And, after this miraculous Restoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the just Rights of Parliaments, no Nation under Heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings he then restored.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.



A N



A N I N D E X

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